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WISCONSIN'S COMPREHENSIVE STATE CIVIL SERVICE LAW

The approval of the proposition for state-wide civil service extension in Illinois by a decisive majority of 411,676 to 121,132 at the November elections has made the question of Civil Service one of the dominating legislative issues of the day. The discussion of the civil service lay of an adjoining state which is in some ways considered a model is therefore appropriate and illuminating at this time. On Friday, December 30, Mr. C. E. Buell, President, and Mr. F. E. Doty, Secretary, of the Wisconsin Civil Service Commission, addressed the City Club on the subject of "Wisconsin's Comprehensive State Civil Service Law."

Mr. William B. Hale in introducing the first speaker, Mr. Doty, said:

William B. Hale

"One of the most important issues in Illinois to-day is that of civil service reform. Some of the reforms which will be urged upon the state legislature

at the coming session require constitutional amendments for their adoption but I know of nothing which stands between the desire of the people in this state for adequate civil service legislation and the enactment of such legislation, unless it may be the opposition of the professional spoilsmen and obstructionists.

"The opportunity is rather unusual. Both major parties in the fall elections adopted platforms strongly favoring state-wide civil service legislation. The governor in the fall campaign repeatedly and emphatically urged the enactment of proper laws along this line. The people on a public policy referendum declared in favor of the reform by a vote of 411,000 to 121,000. And, as an illustration of the need of better and wider civil service, we have before us at the present time, the efforts of the president of the county board to ignore even the meager laws which we have in a way which is sure to result in the inadequate

care and the suffering of the poor, the insane and the sick in our charitable institutions. As a further illustration of this need, we have, as the result of the last election, the spectacle of an army of men leaving offices which should have no more to do with politics than the positions of the motormen or conductors on the street cars. The tenure of office and the very livelihood of the men who hold these political jobs are absolutely dependent upon the will of the party boss.

"Most of you, no doubt, are familiar with the civil service laws that have been enacted in Illinois. In 1895 the city law was passed, covering the offices in the city of Chicago. In 1903, a strong effort was made to obtain a state-wide civil service law but it was so loaded down with vicious amendments by the legislature that it was withdrawn. In 1905, a state-wide law was passed which was amended so as to make it apply only to state charitable institutions. In 1895 and 1905, the three laws which govern the county civil service—so far as they do govern it—were obtained. I personally believe that the coming legislature will further extend the merit principle in the state and county service. I believe that the legislature will enact the civil service laws which will be presented to them. But the popular demand for this legislation and the pressure upon the legislature must be constant. The governor must and will, I am sure, meet the emergency. The newspapers must keep up the fight, and the legislature must be constantly reminded of its opportunity and its duty.

A Tested Reform

"State-wide civil service is not an experiment; it exists in several other states to-day. We ought to be ashamed that the younger state of Wisconsin has a law much broader and more effective than anything which we possess. It is much the same kind of a law as that for which, after all these years, we are still struggling. It is our pleasure to-day to listen to two gentlemen who are connected with the Wisconsin State Civil Service Commission, who had a part in the original enactment of the state law of Wisconsin and who have had long

experience in its operation. I want to present first Mr. F. E. Doty, Secretary of the Wisconsin Civil Service Commission." (Applause.)

F. E. Doty

"It is like carrying coals to Newcastle for a Wisconsin man to address a Chicago audience on the subject of civil service because we, in Wisconsin, believe that the city of Chicago has an excellent civil service law, efficiently administered. The advanced ground which your city commission is taking in examinations for higher positions, and in the matter of departmental efficiency, is known and favorably commented upon in the far eastern states where civil service reform had its inception. We are watching Chicago and expect to benefit from the experiments you are making here. Your state civil service commission has justly earned a reputation for fair dealing and efficiency. The success with which your state law has been applied to charitable institutions was such as to justify me, less than a year ago, in making a pilgrimage to Springfield to learn at first hand how the Illinois commission finds candidates for underpaid positions in these institutions and how it conducts its examinations. Your Illinois commission has successfully surmounted difficulties which have seriously embarrassed us in Wisconsin. I returned from that visit to Springfield convinced that the work in Illinois is in safe hands and feeling well repaid for my visit. Illinois, more than any other state, is credited with having taken advanced ground in the matter of oral examinations and ideas which have originated here, have been accepted and adopted in other jurisdictions.

Civil Service Achieved Without Agitation

"Prior to the adoption of the Wisconsin law there was no general agitation in the state for civil service reform. It was not a part of the platform of the dominant party, nor were the people given an opportunity at the ballot box to express their wishes in reference to it, as was the case in the recent election here in Illinois. But when the legislature convened in 1905, Governor Robert

M. La Follette, now Senator La Follette, in his message to the legislature, made the most remarkable and sweeping recommendations in favor of civil service legislation ever made by any executive anywhere. I quote in part, as his discussion of the question was too extended to be quoted in full:

"What proposition is plainer than that every citizen should have an equal opportunity to serve the public, and that when he does so aspire, the only test applied should be that of merit? Any other test is undemocratic. To say that the test of party service should be applied is just as undemocratic as it would be to apply the test of birth or wealth or religion. * * * I recommend the enactment of a civil service law which shall be applied to all employes in the service of the state, the counties and the cities, outside of the elective officers and such subordinates as may necessarily sustain confidential relations with their chiefs. * * * The law can be completely rounded out and made applicable from the start to all cities and state departments to which experience has shown that it is adapted. * * * The experience of the states and cities where it has been enforced advises what to avoid as well as what to adopt. It shows that the municipal commission appointed by the mayor is useless and ineffective and in some cases actually worse than the old spoils system. A state commission with local examiners is removed from local political pressure and, as shown in Massachusetts, is able to furnish the best kind of subordinate employes for the several cities without in the least infringing upon the principles of home rule. * * * There is one point of weakness in the civil service laws which Wisconsin should profit by and correct. This is the intimidation of subordinates by those making appointments from the accredited lists submitted by the commission. * * * The employe with a real or fancied grievance is tempted to go outside and seek the help of politicians and influential friends or private associations in bringing pressure to bear upon his superior officer. The only way to meet this fault is to provide for a recognized grievance committee composed of subordinates and selected solely by subordinates to investigate all complaints of their fellows and if they endorse them to bring them before their superior officer, or before persons designated by him for conference and arbitration.

Adoption of the Wisconsin Law

"Following this message of Governor La Follette, the legislature at that session enacted the law practically in the form in which it now stands. Men of opposite political creeds lined up for the bill and it swept through on the wave of

reform which at that time was supposed to be at its height. Experts have said that it is the best civil service law anywhere in the country. It is reasonably inclusive in its application to state employments, but does not extend to city and county offices. Officers elected by the people, or appointed by the governor, professors and instructors in the university and normal schools, and librarians are excepted from its provisions. All employes in the various state departments and penal and charitable institutions are subject to its provisions, except the head of each department, together with his deputy and one stenographer.

"The law provided that employes then in the service must pass a non-competitive examination as a condition of continuing in the service longer than six months. The retention of original employes is in harmony with the spirit of the law and their wholesale dismissal would seriously cripple the service and cause endless confusion. But to retain such employes without making an inquiry into their character, industry, personal habits, honesty and ability would be dangerous and would seriously embarrass a commission in its administration of the law.

Old Employes Retained

"Aside from the importance of actually determining the fitness of original employes by a non-competitive examination, such an examination raises the standard of service, is educative, increases the efficiency of the force, and assists a civil service commission and its examiners to determine reasonable examination standards. Ninety per cent of the men and women then in the service successfully passed the non-competitive examination which was given. The commission should have been given a longer time in which to do this work, and fitness should have been determined by observation of their actual work for one or two years after the law went into effect. Of these employes about thirty-five per cent are now in the service.

"During the five years in which the Wisconsin law has been in operation 290 examinations have been held and 9,000 candidates have been examined. These

examinations have covered a wide range of services, from the lowest grade of skilled laborers such as janitors, plumbers, steamfitters and carpenters up to such positions as those of actuaries, accountants, physicians, attorneys, and school inspectors.

"The stock objection that examinations unduly favor persons having book learning but lacking in judgment and experience is answered in tables based upon actual results showing that forty per cent of all persons who have successfully passed competitive examinations in Wisconsin had only a common school education.

"The competitive system in Wisconsin is being administered on the theory that the greatest kindness you can render a man is to place him where he can be in a position to exercise his faculties to the best advantage; and that the greatest wrong you can do him is to permit him to undertake a service for which he is not fitted. Scandals in public life are due as frequently to the ignorance of public men as to their dishonesty.

New State Functions Demand Increased Efficiency

"The government of Wisconsin is in the formative period. It is inevitable that the state will undertake and assume new functions, as society becomes more complex. We believe, therefore, that it is of paramount importance that the civil service law shall be so administered as to establish precedents against the improper exercise of these functions by individuals who happen to be in power.

"Forest preservation and propagation is in its infancy. We shall ultimately have an army of men employed to propagate and protect forests from forest fires. Foresters are selected from civil service eligible lists.

"For the protection of human life and for the alleviation of conditions under which factory workers are employed, we have a constantly increasing force of factory inspectors. These men are selected by competitive examination. Professor Commons, of our university, said to me of a woman selected by competitive examination for the position of factory inspector, 'She is the best woman factory inspector in the United States.'

"Our state asylums care for more than two thousand insane and feeble minded persons. The attendants and nurses and physicians in charge are selected by competitive examination. Recently training schools for nurses have been established in these institutions. For this idea we are indebted to your Illinois commission.

"We have undertaken the gigantic task of regulating all public utilities. The findings of our state railroad commission are based upon the investigations made by their subordinates. In the main, these subordinates are selected competitively. Only recently the state railroad commission has expressed its willingness to extend the application of the competitive system to positions now in the non-competitive class.

"Prior to the adoption of the civil service law it was conceded that deputy game wardens devoted a large portion of their time to politics. It was generally felt that the fish and game was not properly protected. These men are now required to undergo a combined oral and written examination. In the oral test they must identify specimens of fish and game common to the state and must undergo such physical tests as may be necessary to determine their fitness for the work in hand. Their previous record is scrutinized and the combined result of oral and written examinations and previous record determines whether or not they shall serve the state.

"We have undertaken the wholesale testing of cattle for tuberculosis. Veterinarians are selected for this work by competitive examination.

"Our state university has an army of four hundred clerks, stenographers, engineers, janitors and laborers. All of these men and women are selected competitively.

Legislative Employees and the Civil Service

"In one respect the Wisconsin law is unique. All but four legislative employees are selected by competitive examination. The inefficiency and carelessness and unfitness of legislative employees in previous years was a matter of common knowledge. The legislature had on its pay rolls men and boys who never put in an appearance except on pay day

Since the civil service law went into effect two successive legislatures have selected their employes from certified eligible lists and the last legislature gave the system its stamp of approval by re-enacting the law in its application to legislative employes in more definite terms. One of the officers has said: 'I have the best working force I have ever seen in any legislature.' It is conceded that the efficiency of the legislative force has been increased from twenty-five to fifty per cent, an estimated saving of from twenty to thirty thousand dollars in that item alone.

"The Wisconsin civil service law has effected a more equitable adjustment of salaries to duties and responsibilities. It has helped to wipe out the evils of political assessments and contributions, and to check pernicious partisan activity of employes. It has done much to put a stop to petty departmental graft. It prevents padded pay rolls. It secures a more careful audit of accounts. It discourages nepotism and other forms of favoritism. In some cases it has increased the output of work; in others the number of employes has been reduced.

"It has set heads of departments free from the importunities of office seekers, and has encouraged them to install more effective systems of supervision. It insures the retention in office of worthy and capable men. It gives no protection to the unworthy but turns a searchlight upon him and hastens his departure. It dignifies worth and work and emphasizes actual achievements rather than promises and pretensions." (Applause.)

Mr. Charles E. Buell, president of the Wisconsin State Civil Service Commission, spoke as follows:

Mr. Charles E. Buell

"The civil service principle is as old as the government itself. The founders of our government were greatly impressed with the idea that the republic, if it were to succeed, must be governed by merit. With the early presidents, the only qualifications for candidates for positions were honesty and efficiency. So strongly was this principle held that, up to the time of Jackson, only about thirty persons were removed from the

federal service. Most of these removals were for cause. When Jackson came into the presidency, however, this principle was overthrown and the pernicious doctrine that 'to the victor belong the spoils,' was established in its stead. Dr. von Holtz, in his Constitutional History of the United States, speaking of the events which followed the inauguration of that doctrine says:

The capital of the Union presented a revolting picture. Flattery, servility, espionage, tale bearing and intrigue thrived as they scarcely ever had in the most infamous European courts in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; only the court was wanting.

He further adds:

From that hour this maxim, "To the victor belong the spoils," has remained an inviolable principle of American politics, and it is owing only to the astonishing vitality of the people of the United States and to the altogether unsurpassed and unsurpassable favor of their natural conditions that the state has not succumbed under the onerous burden of the curse.

"I have here an opinion which was rendered by Judge Peckham, of the New York Court of Appeals, afterwards Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, in sustaining the constitutionality of the New York civil service law, in which he uses this expression in reference to that document:

The continuous and systematic filling of all the offices of a great and industrious nation by such means became conclusive proof in the minds of many that the nation itself had not in such matters emerged from a semi-barbarous state, and that it had failed to obtain the full benefits arising from an advanced and refined civilization.

"As Mr. Doty has said, the civil service law in Wisconsin was secured, not as a result of agitation but as a result of other reforms. In some respects that was a disadvantage. A civil service law, in order to be effective, must be sustained by public sentiment. For this law, however, there was no popular agitation; no one knew whether there was or was not any strong public sentiment in its favor. The civil service commission has at times felt that if it had a popular vote of three and a half to one back of the civil service law, as you have in Illinois, for your proposed measure, the administration of the law would have been much easier and more successful. But

the law came in a different way, and the commission, with the aid of Mr. Doty, to whom is due the chief credit for whatever success has been obtained, administered the law as best it might.

Politics in the Game Department

"Time will not permit me to go into an extended discussion of what we have done, but I do want to point out to you one or two things that have been accomplished under the Wisconsin law. In the state of Wisconsin we have sixty game wardens. The law governing the game warden's department was enacted before the civil service law was obtained. Previous to the enactment of the civil service law, the chief duty of the game warden, especially during a political campaign, seemed to be to play the game of politics rather than to preserve the game of his state. A great number of game wardens were put on the pay roll during or just previous to the political campaigns. So many were put on that at times the funds were exhausted and, after the campaign was over, the force had to be reduced to one-half of that which the law contemplated. When the civil service law went into effect the game wardens who then held positions were continued in office. It was not really until two years ago that the game warden's department was organized under the civil service law. So notorious was the participation of the game wardens in politics that two years ago an investigation was made which resulted in an amendment to the law which would enable the civil service commission to reconstruct the service and put it upon a merit basis. This reorganization has been brought about with the aid of Dr. T. S. Palmer of the Department of Agriculture. We have given thorough examinations. We have not only given written examinations but have taken the men into the field to test their ability to do the work required of them. I believe we have a most efficient corps of game wardens at the present time.

The Game Department Under Civil Service

A year ago, the first year that the department was really under civil service, the number of arrests was 588, with 563

convictions. This year, up to December 29, the number of arrests was 923 with 842 convictions and twenty-two cases still pending. In 1909, the receipts of the department increased \$31,173.40 over the receipts of the year before; this year, up to the present time, they have increased \$36,632.86 over the receipts of a year ago. To-day, we have standing in the treasury to the credit of the game warden's department \$175,954.82, including \$11,662 which was transferred to the fish commission for the propagation of fish. This year, the department has made in round numbers, \$60,000 over and above its operating expenses.

"It is the purpose of the game warden's department to ask the legislature to appropriate more money for the propagation of fish and for the establishment of game preserves, to enact a law that no does shall be shot, and in many other ways to increase the efficiency of the department. I do not mean to say that the civil service commission and the civil service law are entitled to all the credit for the results which have been secured in the administration of this department, but they have played an important part. Credit should also be given to our present state game warden, George W. Rickman, for the faithful and conscientious way in which he has administered the law and for his cordial and loyal co-operation with the civil service commission.

Merit Appointments in the Law Department

"Another thing in which the Wisconsin commission has, I believe, taken the lead is the application of competitive methods to the appointment of members of the law department of the state. It was the general opinion of people in the East, where civil service originated, that this was impossible but when, soon after I became a member of the commission, an application was made to exempt the position of first assistant attorney general from the operation of the civil service law, on the theory that it was not practicable to determine the fitness of a person for this position, the civil service commission refused to exempt the position. We have given two examinations for legal positions in the state of Wisconsin, and we have found

that the objections which were urged are not valid. We have found that by giving a proper examination, which includes not only written tests but experience markings, we have been able to get men who can try causes efficiently and maintain the rights of clients in court. The consensus of opinion now in civil service quarters is that this method is practicable. The other day, at Baltimore, an assistant attorney general of the United States read a paper in which he took very advanced ground in this matter, claiming that all of the positions in the legal departments, excepting only those of the attorney general, should be placed in the competitive class.

"Mr. Doty has spoken of the results which followed the placing of the legislative employes under civil service, in the matter of economy and efficiency. But the change has accomplished more; it

has placed the service upon a very much higher moral plane than it had been previous to that time. Previous to the enactment of the civil service law, certain persons were employed who did no service whatever, but who simply drew their pay as the favorites of senators or members of the legislature. But now, no one can get a legislative appointment unless he is fitted for it, unless he is one of three standing at the head of a competitive list. The civil service commission cares nothing for the man's politics or religion; it simply investigates his honesty and his fitness for the position which he is called upon to fill. The clerk of one of the departments said to me only a few days ago that if the civil service commission had done nothing more than to elevate the moral standards around the state capitol it would have justified its existence." (Applause.)

POLITICS AND PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT

The recent shift in administration in the Cook County offices as a result of the November election, bringing about the displacement of many former employes, has emphasized the importance of the relation between politics and public employment and the importance of establishing such tests of efficiency as a basis for the hiring and discharge of public employes as will prevent the undue interference of politics. This subject was discussed at the City Club from the point of view both of the employe and of the public service on Wednesday, the 11th instant, by Prof. Graham Taylor, Mr. F. G. Hopp, Financial Secretary of the Chicago Federation of Labor, and Mr. J. M. Grimm, Secretary of the Chicago Civil Service League, an organization of public employes. Mr. T. K. Webster presided.

T. K. WEBSTER: "If you should ask me to prove whether the transfer and discharge of men in the public service at every election is a good thing or not for the efficiency of that service, I would reply that it is a self-evident fact that it is not. A superintendent in a factory does not train a man for six months in one branch of the industry

and, as soon as he becomes an expert in that line, transfer him to another. But in politics we do that very thing. We train a man to handle a certain department in the public service and, when he becomes experienced, we turn him out and put in another man. Could you think of any scheme more detrimental, more expensive and more foolish than that?

"Really, there is no excuse for this. We have, as examples against this practice, the large municipalities in Europe, which will search far and wide for a competent and experienced engineer or other high-grade public employe and, when they have found him, they keep him. But in some way we have muddled everything in politics, and efficiency has gone out of the door. Under those circumstances we have to take just such service as we can get."

Prof. Graham Taylor was introduced and spoke as follows:

Prof. Graham Taylor

"The extent to which public employes, by reason of their exemption from the civil service method of appointment and supervision, are more responsible to the

party than to the public is our first point of inquiry. In the state of Illinois there are approximately 2,000 employes exempt. They are serving the state in thirty-two different departments, as follows:

Game Department, Railroad and Warehouse Commission, Board of Live Stock Commission, Board of Commissioners of Labor, Free Employment Offices at Springfield, Peoria, East St. Louis and Chicago, Factory Inspection Department, Food Commission, Board of Health, Reformatory at Pontiac, Penitentiary at Joliet, Penitentiary at Chester, executive offices, office of Secretary of State, office of the Auditor of Public Accounts, office of the Attorney-General, office of the Treasurer, Civil Service Commission, office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, Museum of Natural History, Printer Expert, Insurance Department, Internal Improvement Commission, Illinois State Historical Library, Geological Survey, Board of Pension Industries, Highway Commission, Fish Commission, Board of Pardons, State House watchman, offices of Supreme Court, Canal Commission, Park Commissions.

"The city of Chicago is especially interested in the appointments to its park service. The West Chicago Park Commission employes, deprived of the protection and incentive of the civil service law, number 1,033 in the busy summer season and 578 in the slack winter season, the North Park employes 900 in the summer and 400 in the winter, a maximum total of 1,933 in the summer and a minimum of 978 in the winter.

"The employes of the State University are also exempted, though not included among the 2,000 employes above designated. In Wisconsin, however, all of the 400 janitors, clerks, bookkeepers and other subordinate office holders in the State University secure their appointments by open competitive examinations under the Civil Service Commission.

"There are, therefore, in the service of the state of Illinois approximately 2,500 employes whose appointments are not regulated by law, who may be dismissed at any time, irrespective of capacity or fidelity, and all of whom might be swept out of office at one time at the whim of any incoming administration.

Cook County Employes Exempt from Civil Service

"The number and classification of public employes in Cook County not under civil service are as follows:

	Em- ployes.
Comptroller's office	10
Election Commissioners	2
State's Attorney	33
Jury Commissioners	11
County Superintendent of Schools....	3
Board of Assessors.....	38
Board of Review.....	22
Sheriff's office	153
Sheriff (County Building).....	187
Sheriff (Criminal Court Building)....	56
Sheriff (jail)	70
Coroner	24
Criminal Court Clerk.....	38
Clerk of Circuit Court.....	60
Clerk of Superior Court.....	48
Clerk of Probate Court.....	55
County Clerk	52
Clerk of County Court.....	24
County Treasurer	109
Recorder	74
Recorder (Abstract Department).....	31
Recorder (Torrens Department).....	16

Total1,116

Extra help not included in the above
(1906) 849

Estimated total1,965

"The city of Chicago reports a far better record. It has 23,210 employes on its pay roll. The members of the Board of Education and the directors of the Public Library are not included among these, as they serve the city without any compensation. While the 6,665 teachers in the public schools are not under the civil service law, their appointment is made only for merit, tested by examination prescribed and supervised by the Board of Education. There are seventy-three officials whose election by the people leaves them outside of the scope of this law, namely, the Mayor, the City Treasurer, the City Clerk and the seventy Alderman. There are ten in positions the appointment to which is provided for by statute, namely, five members of the Board of Local Improvements, three members of the Civil Service Commission, its secretary and chief examiner. While the municipal tuberculosis sanitarium staff is not included under the classified list, its general superintendent, two stenographers, supervising nurse and eleven nurses will

all be appointed by civil service examination.

Exemptions in the City Service

"Of the 504 paid city officials whose exemption from the operation of the civil service law or other merit law leaves their appointment open to political, partisan influence, 458 are law officers, 293 of them serving in the Municipal Court, 162 of them in the City Law Department and three as attorneys for the Board of Education, the Board of Local Improvements and the Civil Service Commission. This leaves only forty-six paid positions to be filled by the appointment of the Mayor, subject to confirmation by the City Council.

"The offices filled by the appointment of the Mayor and subject to the confirmation of the City Council are:

Comptroller, Corporation Counsel, Commissioner of Public Works, General Superintendent of Police, Fire Marshal, Commissioner of Health, Building Commissioner, City Electrician, City Collector, Business Agent, Inspector of Weights and Measures, Chief Inspector of Steam Boilers and Steam Plants, Commissioner of Track Elevation, Chief Smoke Inspector, Superintendent of the House of Correction, Local Transportation Investigator, Deputy Commissioner of Public Works, five members of the Board of Local Improvements, three members of the Civil Service Commission and its Chief Examiner and Secretary, City Physician, Fish Inspector, Gas Inspector, Harbor Master and five assistants, Vessel Dispatcher and two assistants, Market Master, three members of the Board of Examining Engineers, a clerk, sergeant-at-arms and stenographer for the City Council and a secretary to the Mayor.

"The appointments of members of the Board of Education and directors of the Public Library are provided for by statute and similarly nominated and confirmed, but because the persons receiving the appointment serve without salary, they are not counted in the totals.

"The following officials and employes in the offices of the Corporation Counsel and the City Attorney are exempted from civil service:

Twenty-seven Assistant Corporation Counsels, one City Attorney, one Chief Assistant City Attorney, 17 Assistant City Attorneys, one Prosecuting Attorney, one Chief Assistant Prosecuting Attorney, 16 Assistant Prosecuting Attorneys, one chief law clerk and secretary, three law clerk trial investigators, three law clerk preliminary investigators, 51 law clerks and in-

vestigators, one law claim investigator, two law and docket clerks, one law and filing clerk, two law clerk copyists, nine law clerks, 24 law clerks and stenographers—162 in all.

Municipal Court Exemptions

"The following Municipal Court officials are exempted:

Chief Justice, 27 Associate Justices, four Assistants to Chief Justice, Auditor, clerk, chief deputy clerk, 139 deputy clerks, attorney to the clerk, bailiff, chief deputy bailiff, 115 deputy bailiffs, attorney to the bailiff—293 in all.

"Other legal positions exempted are as follows:

Attorney of the Board of Education, attorney of the Board of Local Improvements, attorney of Civil Service Commission.

"The civil service text-book recently issued by the City Civil Service Commission illumines and amply justifies the practicality and reasonableness of civil service examinations as a method of appointment to public positions. The 'efficiency system' under the administration of an expert staff is uniquely valuable in promoting effective public service by its businesslike method of comparing actual efficiency with the efficiency which ought fairly to be expected from the money expended. The efficiency records of individual employes afford the only just basis for their promotion and continuance in office. The commission is to be congratulated upon issuing what cannot fail to be a standard text-book for civil service and more still upon the actual efficiency in public service which the book reports and promotes.

"The total number of employes of the state, county and city who are exempted from the civil service provisions for appointment and efficiency is 4,969, every one of whom owe their offices, and therefore their primary allegiance, to the party rather than to the public. Citizens and taxpayers owe it to themselves and their public employes to ask just why five thousand of these employes are exempted from and deprived of the advantages and protection of the civil service law. It certainly is not just to these employes to leave them without any guarantee of holding their positions or public recognition and reward for their merit. It is not fair to hold them responsible for the best performance of

their duty to the public while party organizations or bosses are left in absolute control of their appointment, their continuance in office and the employment of their time and attention.

A Divided Allegiance

"Just as certainly it cannot be to the interest of the public or consistent with the economy and efficiency which citizens and taxpayers have a right to expect in public work to depend upon the divided allegiance and service of public employes. It is only reasonable and right to exact the whole time and attention paid for by state, county or city. Public service should also be invested with a dignity, permanency and a status worthy of the commonwealth, such as can never be assured except by the legal control of all public employment independently of all other interests or influences. Efficiency can be hoped for neither by the public nor its employes unless protection from interference and interruption is absolutely assured by the strict enforcement of a comprehensive and practical civil service law. Moreover, it is destructive of the very spirit of the republic not to give to the public employes the same democratic equality which every citizen claims and is assured. This, too, can be guaranteed only by making the appointment and continuance in office dependent solely upon merit. The spoils system is based on partiality, special privilege, injustice and servility. It is the opposite of the square deal for everybody.

Human Interests Involved

"The human interests involved are most keenly felt at the points of closest contact between official work and those whose personal well-being is largely determined by it. The livelihood of thousands may depend upon the free employment offices of the state. The health, safety, life and death of all engaged in industry are involved in an adequately authorized, equipped, manned and supported factory inspection. Thousands of young men and women, boys and girls, at the most critical turning point in their career, may be turned upward or downward by the character and the conduct of the guards under whose im-

mediate care they are placed in reformatories, the county jails and the prisons of the commonwealth. Every one's rights are at stake in the effective and just administration of the State's Attorney's office, the Municipal and County Courts, the Jury Commissioners' office and that of the Election Commissioners. The life, liberty and property of every one of us are in the hands of such officials.

"Who should appoint and control them? To whom do they owe their sole allegiance, their whole duty? Has a party or any outside interest or influence any standing with the public in answering this question? Why, then, are five thousand employes exempted from the operation of the only law which can protect them and the public? Is there any other reason than that the party victors demand the spoils? Will the public yield to that demand any longer than to give their representatives enough time at this session of the legislature to enact the 'comprehensive civil service law' that shall extend over those five thousand employes now exempted—the law for which the people cast an overwhelming vote at the last election, and for the enactment of which both parties stand committed irrevocably in their platforms." (Applause.)

Mr. F. G. Hopp, Financial Secretary of the Chicago Federation of Labor, discussed the question of politics and public employment from the standpoint of organized labor.

F. G. Hopp

"To my mind there is a close relationship or at least a striking similarity between the Civil Service League and the trades union. Each demands that the employe shall be competent to fill the position and do the work to which he aspires. Each acts upon the theory that as long as an employe remains honest and competent he should not be discharged without cause. The civil service employe is assumed to be free from the political grafter who upon each recurring election insists upon levying a 'voluntary' assessment to assist the party. The union employe is free from this species of robbery and would resist it forcibly if attempted, and fight it

with the whole power of his organization.

"The civil service employe is to a large extent protected against discharge in the event of a change in the political complexion of a public department. The trades unionist is fully protected. Indeed, there would be an upheaval that would spell revolution if the employers in general should attempt to follow the political spoils system and at the next election discharge all employes who had not acted with the winning party. Yet we are so indifferent to this sense of public duty that we permit our servants to do that which if done by a private employer would land him in bankruptcy or in Dunning.

Trades Union and Civil Service League Compared

"The trades union, like the Civil Service League, is always willing and ready to take up the defense of any employe against the injustice of foreman or political boss. Each does for the single employe what in his individual capacity he is unable to do for himself. The civil service law contemplates a fixed price for fixed services. This is good enough unionism to entitle the Civil Service League to a charter from the Federation of Labor.

"We deny the right of any man to base our right to private or public employment upon our religious or political opinion. The question should never be 'Is the applicant a Democrat or Republican, Protestant or Catholic?' but 'Is he honest, competent, and a citizen, or a proper person to become one?'

"The emancipation of the public from the spoils system is beset with many difficulties. The road is lined with spoils politicians contesting every inch of the way. We find many men who know it is a cesspool of corruption, but lack the moral courage to oppose it. Then we have the genteel hypocrite who is for it when he can't enforce it and against it when he can. But by far the worst drawback is the great mass of citizens who are indifferent to their own public welfare and who in their supine indifference seem to think Divine Providence has willed it so. However, the general tendency of the trades union movement, like that of the Civil Service League,

makes for improvement, and the individual service in private as well as in the public service is better today than yesterday, and will be still better tomorrow.

The Public Should Employ its Own Servants

"We believe that the employe who deliberately shirks or wastes the time for which he is paid is as much of a thief as he who puts his hand in a till and takes therefrom that which belongs to another. We believe the time is not far distant when the public will be in reality, as it is now in theory, the employer of its own servants, and when we fully arrive at that stage the political boss will become harmless and a thing of the past.

"Few men care to give their best service while in a state of doubt. No man can do his best while in a state of worry. No man will do his best knowing that he is to be unceremoniously kicked out. This is the inevitable result of the spoils system, which can only be remedied by an honest, well regulated civil service law that will guarantee to him who gives to the public the full measure of his ability, full protection against the 'voluntary assessments' of the grafter, and against the dishonest discharge to punish for political disobedience. To this purpose and for this cause we stand fully committed—that the public business shall not be demoralized and its working citizens and servants injured and abused every time that Finnigan comes in or Finnigan goes out." (Applause.)

Mr. J. M. Grimm, Secretary of the Chicago Civil Service League, discussed the question from the standpoint of the employe in the public service.

J. M. Grimm

"The question of the effect of frequent changes of administration on public employes and all other questions in regard to the public service should be considered from the viewpoint of the public good. The public is the first to be considered, so that the employe shall give full compensation in good, efficient work for the money received. The employe, too, should be considered as to

the effect the service or the change in the service has on him. If any public system tends to demoralize or degrade the employe, the service in general will suffer, and to that extent the public's money is wasted.

"In the various departments of the municipal government the public servant is under civil service law. In a number of state and county departments the public servant is a political appointee. It is pertinent to note the effect of a change of administration on both of these classes of employes.

"Like the chameleon, the public employe assumes the hue of that upon which he feeds. The political appointee will, by the very nature of things, be a politician and will play politics. The strictly merit man will depend on work well performed.

Politics in the Public Service

"The political employe owes his appointment, not so much to the official in charge of the institution or department in which he is employed as to his political backer, who in the majority of cases is the party committeeman. He is thereby handicapped from the beginning, for he has at least two masters to serve. His tenure of office depends chiefly on the amount and efficiency of his political work. At and for some time before election he does his most strenuous work. His mind and energies are centered on this work rather than on the public service. If the election goes his way, he resumes in a measure the performance of his duties to the public. But, on the other hand, should the election decide a change of administration, then he is cast adrift and goes forth handicapped by the fact that he has been a public employe.

"This change, temporarily at least, disrupts the public service. The effect on the employes is demoralizing. If their political party loses, they are discouraged and disheartened. Even if their party is successful, the associations formed and methods pursued during the campaign often have a general tendency to demoralize and degrade the men themselves. Their political affiliations have a tendency toward the forming of associations which it takes money to keep up. The men in the lower posi-

tions invariably live beyond their means and the fact of their being always 'broke' makes greater the possibility of the offering and acceptance of 'graft.'

Results of a Changed Administration

"If a new administration comes in, the old men are replaced with men who are no more capable, and who will be subject to the same conditions of political work. The result will be the same at the next election, and another lot of men will be turned out through the demoralizing effect of the spoils system. The more frequent the election, the more injurious is the effect upon the public employe.

"As to the civil service men, the conditions surrounding them are very different. Our city civil service law is perhaps, in some respects, the most advanced in the country. The enforcement of a merit system in this country, after a hundred years of the spoils system, is a gigantic task, and it will take time to eradicate all political influences from the public service. It is a far cry from the old spoils system to the merit system of Chicago, and no doubt the time will soon come when Chicago will have a civil service free from all taint of political influence, if we can judge the future by the progress of the past. Year by year improvement in the service can be seen by those who have been observers of the Chicago law.

"All systems have to be tried out to find the weak places. While the Chicago law is good, some improvement, perhaps, could be made to lessen political influence. To all who have studied and observed the workings of civil service laws, it must be apparent that a civil service law is defective where it permits or is ineffective to prevent political influence. This is where efficient service and the employe alike suffer.

"During an election a great contrast is seen between departments of the public service conducted under the old spoils system and those under the merit system. The real civil service employe is no more interested in the election than the public at large, for he knows that, as long as he faithfully performs his duties, his position is reasonably secure. All shades of political belief may be represented among the employes, and the

work of the service moves along with no more interruption than a private concern.

Potential Appointment of Civil Service Heads

"If the Civil Service Commission, which administers the law, and the heads of departments who have direct charge of the employes, are appointed to their positions by the successful candidate, they will, of course, be appointed primarily for political reasons. This is the entering wedge of politics in the merit system. It is this condition that causes uneasiness among the employes and has a tendency to disrupt the efficiency of the service.

"This danger is ever present, but is felt and dreaded by the merit man more during a change of administration than at any other time, for he knows full well that all parties have workers who must be provided for.

"The rules the commission may change after an election or the new ones they pass may affect the standing or security of position of many of the employes. The heads of departments may bring about more or less chaotic and unsatisfactory conditions in the public service, due partly to their individual ideas, their likes and dislikes, present or acquired, and—it is stated regretfully—to the necessity of paying political debts. It would be unjustifiable to ascribe such motives to any particular party or person; but the fact remains that party men must wield the party lash or in turn be relegated to obscurity.

"In the past there has been a tendency to fill high salaried positions, wherever possible, by an original rather than a promotional examination. The spirit of the law is opposed to this. This is disheartening to the merit man, inasmuch as it lessens the chances of advancement of all who are below, and takes away one of the strong incentives to best work, thereby creating the feeling that rights guaranteed under the civil service law are disregarded, and lessening the ambition to do good, meritorious and efficient work in the hope of greater reward.

Advancement a Motive for Efficient Work

"It is only human to wish to get to the top. The desire and hope that a better place in the future will be the reward for faithful service will do much to elevate the standard of the employes. Take away this hope of reward and the motive for efficient work on the part of the employe is removed. Seeing that a 'pull' helps, he will undoubtedly begin to look to the spoils system for aid. The same effect may be observed in any business house when a stranger, because of relationship or friendship, is placed in a good position when some employe, by reason of long and faithful service, should be advanced.

"Again, just before and after a political upheaval, the 'sixty-day man' is more in evidence. Places become vacant and no eligible lists exist. The making of temporary appointments is an easy way to pay political debts.

"Another demoralizing practice is the placing of men in a line of work where no chance of promotion exists, so that, after a few changes of administration, with changes of rule, the man suddenly finds himself in a pocket that will prevent him for years from advancing on strictly civil service principles.

"These are some of the things that worry civil service employes. They are injured by such practices as those described, and the public service suffers from the lack of reward held out to deserving men and from the example of the efficacy of a 'pull.'

"Frequent changes of administration multiply these conditions. Long tenure of administrations will allow the new men and old to become better acquainted. It will lessen the friction, and the 'sixty-day man,' in time, may become a good civil service employe.

"As a whole, in comparing the conditions under the spoils system with those under the merit system, we cannot help being gratified at the great progress made. The continued improvement in civil service laws will soon hasten the day when the only thing preventing absolute efficiency will be the incompetency of the civil service employe, and not the machinery of administration." (Applause.)

Mr. Francis X. Busch, attorney for the Civil Service League, spoke briefly as follows:

Francis X. Busch

"I take it we are all of one accord in believing that the absence of a civil law governing the appointments of a host of public employes in Cook County and a relatively greater host of employes in the state of Illinois is a condition that is not a good one. I think we are all convinced that we are soon to have a comprehensive state and county civil service law which, wherever possible, will put these places under the merit system. When that is accomplished we must look carefully to the proposition of having a non-political administration of the civil service law.

Evading the Law by Temporary Appointments

"The sixty-day appointments referred to by Mr. Grimm should be constantly watched. In theory, this sixty-day provision is a good one. In the language of the law, 'to prevent stoppages in public business in temporary emergencies, the head of a department may appoint a man for sixty days.' In practice, it has frequently happened, as those who are familiar with the civil service know, that a man has been appointed for one sixty-day period and reappointed for another sixty-day period, and sometimes reappointed five and six times. A man who is already in the service and in line for promotion is likely to look with suspicion and discontent upon such a proceeding and his efficiency will be lessened in so far as his confidence in the system is weakened.

"Another abuse of the 'sixty-day' appointment provision is in connection with high-grade positions paying three or four thousand dollars per year. It has frequently happened in connection with such positions that men who are politicians have been appointed and reappointed for periods which in the aggregate have sometimes amounted to over a year. When the examinations are finally held, the temporary appointees, because they have held their positions for these long periods and because their experience has been in the

particular positions to be filled, are given especially good markings for experience. When the fact is taken into consideration that experience usually counts about as much as all the other subjects assigned, it would be strange indeed if these men, with all of that in their favor, did not get to the top of the eligible list. Those things create suspicion and discontent among employes. It should be a matter of constant concern to see that the number of 'sixty-day' men is kept down and that the examinations are held promptly.

Examinations Should be Promotional Wherever Possible

"Another matter to which Mr. Grimm called attention, and which I should like to emphasize, is that of original and promotional examinations and changes of administration. It is particularly important that, if a vacancy occurs in one of the higher and more important positions, where, under all principles of common sense and logic, it is more desirable to have a civil service man than a political appointee, a promotional rather than the original examination should be held. Our courts have upheld that principle on at least three different occasions of which I know, and have set aside original examinations which should have been promotional. I can think of nothing more demoralizing among employes than the holding of original examinations instead of promotional examinations. The men in the service should be given the opportunity to qualify for promotion. If you hold out the idea that there are higher grade jobs to which civil service men can aspire, a better class of men will be attracted into the lower positions." (Applause.)

Dr. Howard S. Taylor of the Board of Election Commissioners was called on for a brief statement:

Dr. Howard S. Taylor

"Listening to the remarks of the various speakers this afternoon, I recall that eighteen years ago I was one of thirteen gentlemen of very moderate social standing and of no political standing whatever, who met in the old Grand Pacific club room for the purpose of forming a civic federation. We organized

our civic federation, and it grew, but it got beyond our control and escaped into the empyrean; where it has gone I do not know. But the regnant thought with which we met was that we would agitate for the purpose of taking the political jobs out of the political 'jack-pot.' (I hope I am not too technical for your understanding.) We thought then and I think now that immeasurably the greatest virtue in a civil service law strictly administered is not the matter of gain and profit in efficiency, but the correction of what is by far the greatest mischief in our political life today, the excesses of the political machine. Twenty-two thousand job-holders in the city of Chicago, an army division, were pledged to the political boss or bosses by the strongest bond possible, the continuing self-interest and preservation of their places. That is a phenomenon bound to breed mischief in any self-governed community.

Civil Service Must be Strictly Administered

"A strict civil service law, such as we hope to obtain, must be strictly administered. Mr. Busch has catalogued some of the tricks used in evading the civil service law, such as the tricks of the sixty-day appointment, the promotional examination, the changing of the name of a bureau or office in order to change an official. These tricks and a half dozen others of the same sort show you how ineffectual even a good law may be under bad administration.

"Judge Owen has conceived that in order to get a correct and an effectual administration of the law we must not only attend to the civil service employes, but to all employes and to the heads of the departments. And in order to attend effectually to the heads of departments we must purify the election machinery. That is an old subject and a hackneyed one. It is a painful subject to many, and an important one to every man that thinks.

"Civil service is simply one of the branches of the tree of self-government, and the root of the tree is honest elections. The whole machinery of reform must focus itself around this proposition, that we must bring an honest voter

—he need not be very intellectual; he may make mistakes today and tomorrow, and correct them on the third day—to an honest election. Judge Owen has set about to make this possible. It is a huge job, and I am not going to boast about what we are going to accomplish. But we have refused to take the schedules of political bosses for judges and clerks and we have appealed particularly to the citizenship of Chicago, to the civic clubs, to every kind of an organization that might have a good suggestion, to send us the names of persons to act as judges and clerks of election. We have determined to make the selection of judges and clerks ourselves and to call upon gentlemen who can ill afford to stop their business and come and serve the community. To these men we say: 'Perhaps you can not afford to act in this capacity as a business proposition, but as a moral proposition and a patriotic one you can and must.'

Enforcement of Election Laws the First Step

"Judge Owen has another excellent notion that chimes in thoroughly with my own. He thinks that there are too few people in our jails and penitentiaries. I have lived here and fought along political lines for thirty years, but in that entire time I can not recall more than four people who have been put in jail for an assault upon the very ark of our covenant, the American electorate. We must awaken the slumbering laws. Those that are defective must be amended; but the laws for the most part are good enough if they are properly administered.

"Heretofore the man who bought votes or who secured them by intimidation, the man who corrupted whole precincts and wards, has felt pretty safe. One of 'Teddy's' fellow hunters in Africa tells of a very singular experience he had in the jungle. He had often heard that the cat tribe were singularly answerable to the power of the human eye. One day, according to his story, a big African lion got on his trail and he resolved to test his hypnotic powers on the lion. He sat down and fastened his eyes on those of the lion, and the animal, so he said, did not come within fifty feet of him. 'Why,' said a

friend, 'how is that? I never heard of such a thing.' 'Well,' said the hunter, 'I was sitting on a limb of a tree fifty feet above the lion.' Heretofore the bosses have been out of reach. They have occupied a safe position up a tree. If they are to be reached and made re-

sponsive to public opinion, the good citizens of Chicago must take up the work of promoting honest elections, not as a substitute for civil service, but as a political reform that is absolutely indispensable for responsible self-government." (Applause.)

ACCOMPLISHMENTS AND NEEDS OF CHICAGO'S HEALTH DEPARTMENT

On Saturday, the 24th instant, Health Commissioner W. A. Evans addressed the City Club on the subject of the "Accomplishments and Needs of Chicago's Health Department," the occasion of his address being the appropriation bill for the Health Department for 1911, now pending before the Finance Committee of the City Council. Dr. H. B. Favill who presided, spoke briefly as follows:

DR. H. B. FAVILL: "The city is confronted at the present moment with a question of exceedingly great importance, under conditions particularly unfavorable to the settling of that question wisely. It is a question of money supply for the purposes of the Health Department: The unfavorable conditions are two:

"*First*—and least important—a lack of money.

"*Second*, lack of a clear and comprehensive understanding on the part of the public as to the importance of an adequate money supply for the Health Department. If that could be established, the question of money would be of less importance than it is today.

"The City Club is thoroughly committed to the proposition that appropriations shall be within the revenue. It is not, however, committed to the idea that estimates and budgets should be made up on any mechanical basis or upon any basis of incidental or casual impression, as opposed to careful and scientific investigation, or upon any basis of simple horizontal raisings and lowerings. It is against the lumping of all the expenditures of the city into one general mass, judging them to be of equal importance and significance.

"The city expenditures must be within the revenue, but we maintain that there is a differentiation with reference

to the significance and importance of appropriations, that leads us to say that the Health Department should have the money it needs even if some other departments can not have all they need.

"Although it is undoubtedly true that all departments which are neglected do not simply stand still, but run down, and that neglect and deterioration are progressive, those propositions are ten-fold true of the Health Department. Therefore, it is of the utmost importance that the Health Department be enabled to gain ground, or, if it can not gain ground, it must be enabled to hold the ground it has."

Committee Resolutions

Dr. Favill introduced Mr. Russell Tyson, who read the following resolutions adopted by the Budget Division of the City Club Committee on Revenues, Expenditures and Accounting on January 12, 1911, and approved by the Directors of the club:

Whereas, The Health Department should be conducted upon a liberal and efficient plan according to the best modern methods and the annual health appropriation should be adequate for this purpose, and

Whereas, A requisition for an appropriation for the year 1911 to the Health Department has been presented to the Finance Committee of the City Council by Health Commissioner Evans, which we believe to be reasonable and necessary and based upon a reasonable plan for carrying on the work of said department, therefore be it

Resolved, That said requisition should be allowed by said Finance Committee and by the City Council without any reduction that will substantially impair the efficiency of the department in performing the duties required of it.

The responsibility upon the City Council in regard to public health is more serious than any other, and the whole people will be more appreciative of adequate Health protection than of any other form of public security.

Dr. Evans was then introduced and spoke as follows:

Dr. W. A. Evans

“Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: In order not to break the continuity of what

cial needs. Chart I shows what certain of the American cities spent per capita for health conservation during the year 1908. Cambridge, Massachusetts, stands at the head of the list, with an expenditure of 63.6 cents per capita; Yonkers,

AMERICAN CITIES EXPENDING MORE PER CAPITA
THAN CHICAGO
FOR HEALTH CONSERVATION
DURING THE YEAR 1908 —

Data derived from tabulations of the United States Bureau of the Census.

If the per capita expenditure for Chicago equalled that of New York City it would amount to \$1,184,832 per annum; if equal to Boston—\$1,037,540; if equal to Pittsburg—\$638,936.

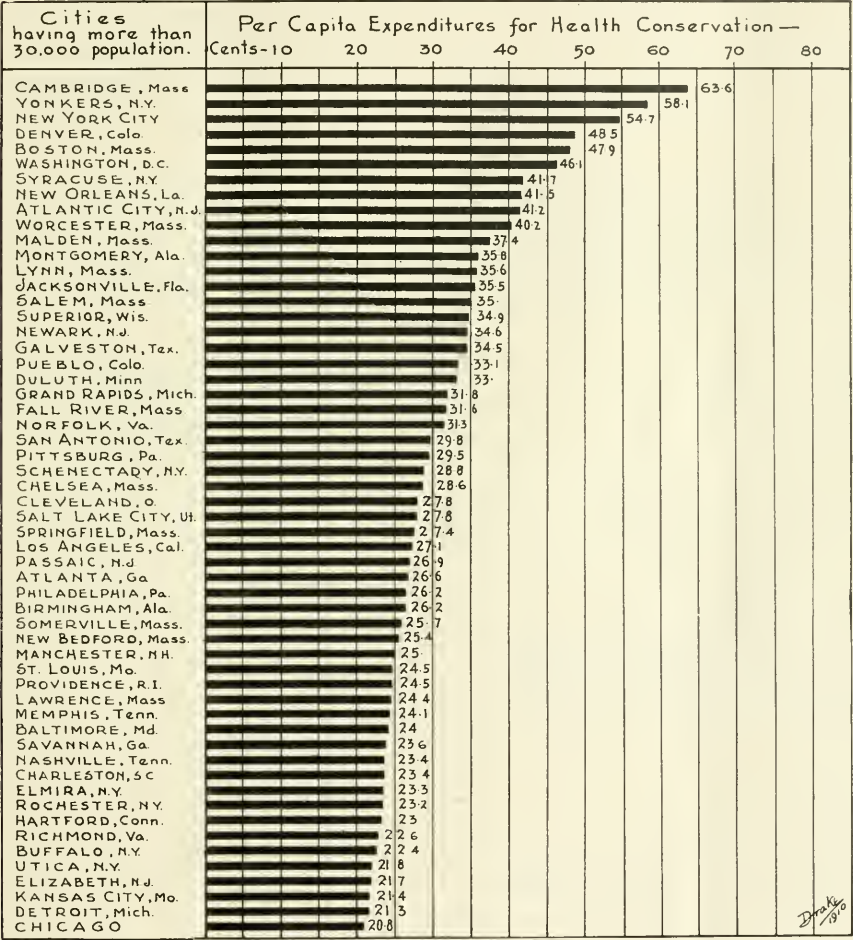


CHART I

I have to say, I am going to call your attention to two diagrams setting forth the position of the health departments in various cities of the country with reference to the attention paid to their finan-

New York, comes next with 58 cents; New York City spent 54.7 cents. Chicago stands at the bottom of the list with an expenditure of 20.8 cents per capita. “People usually say when this chart is

called to their attention that in New York City money is spent with an extravagance that is not possible in other cities of this country; yet you will notice that New York is not the only city that has a per capita expenditure for health department purposes that is materially higher than Chicago's. I have not heard that charge of wild extravagance brought against Cambridge, or Yonkers, or Denver, or Boston, or Washington, D. C.

A Decreasing Health Appropriation

"Chart II shows the appropriations for Chicago's public safety departments, the health department, the police department, and the fire department for the last four years. Below are indicated the increases and decreases in each department showing that the health department is receiving a decreasing appropriation, the police department an increasing appropriation, and the fire department a practically stationary appropriation.

"The comparison of the expenditures for important municipal activities in four leading American cities shows that while in all of these cities the police and fire departments are better supported than the health department, the disproportion is higher in Chicago than in any other of these cities.

"We had the hearing on the budget of the Health Department before the Council Finance Committee yesterday afternoon. Viewed from the standpoint of the Finance Committee, that hearing, I think, was satisfactory to the department of health.

"We are asking for some increases in salaries of men whom we believe to be particularly deserving of increases. I believe that the Finance Committee will grant some of those increases, although they have not committed themselves on any increase of salary at the present time.

"The prices that are paid for work in the department of health are less than those paid for work in any other department of the city government. The chemists that are employed in the department of health get a good deal less money than do the chemists that are employed in other departments of the city government. The inspectors, the field men, the chief clerks and the bureau heads are paid less than they are paid in other de-

partments. The only man in the department that is overpaid, is the head of the department, the commissioner of health. The fact is that the health commissioner of the city of Chicago receives the largest salary of any health commissioner in the United States. That shows the rather heedless way in which this matter of salaries has been worked out in the city government.

A Training School for Clerks

"Our average pay for clerks in the department, according to a statement that we have drawn up, is materially less than the average rate of pay of clerks in any other department of the city government. As a result of that, clerks who get their training with us, take civil service examinations for other positions and go into the other departments of the city government where clerks are paid higher salaries than they receive in the health department. The health department is the nursery for the clerical forces of the city government. We are the training school in which training is given for positions in the city service. If you will notice a promotional civil service list for clerical positions, you will find that the health department clerks generally stand at the head of the list.

"Outside of this, however, the department has been asking that two of its bureaus should be materially strengthened. It is asking that there should be a material strengthening in its Bureau of Food Inspection. The national government spends on meat inspection in the stock yards district and in the packing houses attached thereto, practically the same amount of money that the city government spends for the health department in its entirety. The number of employes of the national government engaged in the inspection of meat and the work related thereto, is about equal to the number of employes who are operating under the department of health in its every activity. We are asking that more men shall be employed in our food inspection work, so that the city of Chicago shall be given better protection as regards its meat, its milk, its ice, its water, and its other food substances. I believe that the people are entitled to more protection against impure food than they

are getting in the city of Chicago at the present time, or that they can possibly get with the present force of inspectors and clerks in the food bureau. I feel quite certain that the Finance Committee will strengthen the food bureau, although in all probability they will not give us all that we have asked for.

condition of the school children, and the school nursing work.
"We are asking that several new lines of activity be provided for:
Infant Welfare Work
"In the first place, we are asking that this city undertake the work of child

APPROPRIATIONS FOR
CHICAGO'S PUBLIC SAFETY DEPARTMENTS
FOR THE LAST FOUR YEARS

HEALTH	
1907	\$ 848,965
1908	\$ 803,142
1909	\$ 607,870
1910	\$ 545,118
POLICE	
1907	\$ 5,610,845
1908	\$ 6,629,512
1909	\$ 5,839,510
1910	\$ 5,904,900
FIRE	
1907	\$ 3,209,709
1908	\$ 3,212,685
1909	\$ 2,924,853
1910	\$ 3,001,158

INCREASES AND DECREASES IN APPROPRIATIONS
DURING LAST 3 YEARS COMPARED WITH 1907

INCREASES - Percent	HEALTH	Percent-DECREASES
	1908	5.3 %
	1909	28.3 %
	1910	35.7 %
	POLICE	
18.1 %	1908	
4.1 %	1909	
5.2 %	1910	
	FIRE	
0.1 %	1908	
	1909	8.8 %
	1910	6.4 %

CHART II

"The other bureau in which we are asking for material increases is in the bureau of contagious diseases. Associated therewith is the work of inspection in the schools to determine the physical

hygiene. For several years past, when the summer has come on, we have gone before the Finance Committee and asked them to set aside a 'hot weather fund,' to be transferred from savings in other

bureaus of the health department. In order that there might be funds available for these purposes, we have stinted other bureaus in a way which was probably not to the public interest. In this way, we have secured a 'hot weather fund,' transferred about the first of July, and nurses and doctors have been set to work to protect the babies against summer complaint during the hot months of the year.

"It is now proposed that this work shall be a year-round work, that it shall begin, not with the baby that has become sick, but with the baby as soon as possible after it is born, so that the child may be protected against sickness that so frequently comes on with the hot weather. The average baby that contracts summer complaint in a poor part of town, in a poor home, living as a member of a poor family, can not easily recover therefrom. The environmental influences and resources of that family are such that cure and recovery are out of the reach of the child that has become sick. Therefore the only economic and effective thing to do is to prevent these babies from getting sick, rather than to attempt to cure them after they are sick.

"This is but a part of the work of this child hygiene division. It is not a work that is new to us; it is not experimental. It has been in operation in many cities in this country and in Europe and has been developed to various degrees. Enough experimentation has been done to prove effectiveness.

"We are asking that there shall be one dental supervisor for the teeth of children. A co-operative movement toward that end is just being undertaken in this city. The parties to the co-operation are the Board of Education, the National Dental Association, and the local dental societies. During the last two years we have succeeded, in co-operation with various other agencies, in getting four dental clinics established for the free use of school children in the city. At least 75 per cent of the children in our city schools are in need of some dental care, and dental care is often not within their reach. It is proposed now that this number of free dental clinics shall be increased by five, that the dentists of the city shall undertake to examine the teeth of every child in the city of

Chicago within one year, so that at the end of a year we would know just what is the condition of the teeth of the school children of the city of Chicago. A piece of work as monumental as this should not be left unsupervised, and therefore we are asking that this control be added to the work of the department of health.

Impure Air Diseases

"Probably more important than any of the things that I have mentioned, is the necessity that we should in this community take cognizance of bad air, as a cause of disease, and of good air as a cause of health. If there is necessity for plumbing inspection, there is necessity a hundred-fold for air inspection. For every disease that results from bad plumbing, there are thousands that result from bad air. I am not intending that you shall understand from this that I do not believe in the necessity of good plumbing. I believe that a large part of the health improvement that has come in recent years has come by reason of the fact that the man engaged in plumbing our houses has made good, that he has made our homes habitable, and comfortable, and healthy. This, I believe, is largely responsible for the better things that are now as compared with things as they were.

"But things as they are, are not as they should be. Seven hundred and ninety people died in Chicago during the week that closed this day at noon, and more than one-third of those died of diseases that resulted from bad air. It is fair to say the most important cause of disease and disability that exists at the present time is bad air, and yet nowhere in our city government is there provision for a control of that commodity of human life that is more necessary and more vital than any other.

Need of Ventilation Experts

"So we have asked that a beginning shall be made by providing in the budget of this year for a ventilation inspector and a ventilation chemist. Understand, we do not believe that this represents a comprehensive asking. There should be many times as many ventilation inspectors as there are plumbing inspectors. These men should examine ventilating plans and see in the first place that the

buildings are properly planned from the ventilation standpoint, in the second place that the plans as laid out are executed, and, in the third place, that the plant for ventilation that has been provided shall not be left useless. In this town there are hundreds of thousands of dollars of ventilating apparatus that is either not being used or that is wholly out of commission. A lot of it has been made junk and a lot of it that is theoretically being used, is operated with its openings covered, so that it is not possible for it to deliver air of the proper quantity and quality.

"These are the things that the department has been asking of the Finance Committee this year. The Finance Committee, according to their standard, have been treating the department quite generously, although not as generously by any means as we would ask. The point of view of the Finance Committee and the point of view of the community on this matter are essentially at fault.

"The Finance Committee is considering the needs of many different departments. There are two kinds of departments that usually get more than their share of the funds that are being distributed. The one class is made up of departments that are but newly born; there is about them a great deal of novelty and the impulses that are responsible for their creation are still in operation in the community. Such a department, in consequence, is likely to fare well at the hands of the City Council.

"The other class of departments that ordinarily fare well is made up of those that are well developed, that have been in existence and in the public eye for a long time, and that through the years of their maintenance and operation have created for themselves a community clientele, which is able to demand that the wishes of that department be met. This statement applies particularly to such departments as the police and fire departments. The health department, on the contrary, comes in between. It is a department that has gotten away from the enthusiasm that was responsible for its genesis, and that has not come into this other field of public appreciation and support.

The Community Pays the Bill

"The costs of neglected health must be borne by the community and the only proposition that is before the community is how it will bear them. Will the community bear them through the maintenance of poorhouses, insane asylums and jails, through the support of such institutions as the Tuberculosis Institute, the Visiting Nurses' Association, the United Charities, and the dozen or more other organizations existing in the community that are discharging community functions? Or will they adopt the less expensive and more satisfactory way of caring for the health of the community by preventing the development of the deficiency that comes from neglect?

"Within certain limits, the question of the amount of protection to health that can be given through a health department comes right back to money. In the first place, there is a certain variation that must be allowed for efficiency on the part of the department. A department where the men are working actively and where the heads are deciding wisely, is a department in which one dollar can accomplish the maximum amount of good. A department in which the heads are acting unwisely, or in which the men are not actively attending to their duties, would, let us say, return about seventy-five cents of product for every dollar that had been expended in that department. This variation of something like twenty-five per cent represents the variation that must be allowed for efficiency or its lack in a department.

"On the other hand, a second factor must be taken into consideration, namely, community efficiency. A health department could be thoroughly well supported and not return to the community protection and safety to the fullest possible degree, unless there was community efficiency. In community efficiency, there are several factors that must be taken into consideration:

Community Efficiency and the Public Health

"If the courts lean largely toward an unwise regard for the liberties of the individual and fail to place necessary restrictions upon the rights of the masses in matters affecting public health, the

community must spend a larger amount of money in order that a given result may follow.

"If there are legislative bodies that do not possess a broad and proper regard for the public good, but which are more responsive to the views of individuals as to what is for the public good, there is a further necessity for a larger expenditure of money in order that the community may have a certain return in the way of better public health.

"Again, the efficiency or inefficiency of the practicing physician must be reckoned with. The efficiency or inefficiency of the home control of children and other members of the families is another important consideration. Thus by the public intelligence and the public conscience, must the money requirements of a city for public health be gauged.

"But after allowance has been made for these influences, the question goes right back to the sordid matter of money. *It is dollars against deaths.* If we have a three dollar health department, as they have in Panama, we can shield our people from the need of paying out large portions of their revenues for the care of their health; we can secure health conditions that will constitute the most valuable advertising force for our city and for our land that could possibly be conceived.

American Health Administration in Dependencies

"There are some few things in this last quarter of a century that have rounded to the credit of American civilization. Of those things there is nothing that has surpassed our success in governing foreign lands, when matters of public health have been concerned. And there is nothing that is more to our shame than our failure to govern ourselves properly along these same lines. As I have studied it, I have not found much difference between the engineering means at Panama, as we now have them, and the engineering means at Panama as the French had them, but we all know that we are meeting success there, where the French had met defeat. What spelled defeat there for the French was the fact that every cross-tie over the isthmus represented a

human life. What spells success for us is that the health and efficiency of the people working on the isthmus under the American government has been protected through a properly supported and maintained health department.

"Spain has been whipped before and Spain will be whipped again, and, I believe, we deserve no credit for it. We do deserve credit, however, and, from one end of the world to the other, we are receiving credit for the fact that we have driven yellow fever out of Cuba.

"I believe that the most promising thing in American government today is the fact that when it comes to handling foreign peoples it handles them from the health standpoint better than they have ever been handled before by any other government anywhere on the face of the earth. But when we come to our own health, we are not equally successful.

"The whole question comes right back to the matter of dollars and cents. For a twenty-five cent health department, you can have certain things and you must put up with certain things. A twenty-five cent health department means that from time to time the community must be paralyzed by epidemics and that the number of people dying from certain diseases must be large. If you will spend fifty cents for your health department, you can cut that loss down in certain directions. If you will spend one dollar for your health department, you can cut it down more. Three dollars or ten dollars will cut it down still more. When the time comes that the community will spend one dollar, three dollars, or ten dollars per capita on its health work, the intelligence of the community will have reached such a point that the power necessary to use this money will be given. I can not think of your giving the health department ten dollars per capita without at the same time giving it power in proportion to the money that you give it. On the other hand, I can not think of a twenty-five cent health department without thinking that the community that would support a twenty-five cent health department would at the same time demand that scarlet fever should have the right to run riot, that diphtheria should have the right to kill, that pneumonia should have the right to slay.

Chicago's Low Death Rate

"For many years the death rate of Chicago was the lowest of cities of 1,000,000 inhabitants or over. This was true, not only as applied to American cities, but equally so when compared with the large cities of the world. This statement was based on our gross death rate, and as a statement of fact it was true. From it, however, conclusions have been drawn which are not true. For instance, if a man was considering the advisability of locating in Chicago with his family and concluded that it had the lowest death rate among men and women of 30 and 26 years of age respectively, or among children from 1 to 6 years of age, his conclusion would be misleading. If the people concluded that a twenty-five cent health department was keeping the death rate down to this low point then the conclusion is not justified by the facts:

"The reasons why Chicago's death rate is low are these:

"*First*—The population of Chicago is composed to an unusual degree of young and strong men and women. A larger percentage of our people are between 15 and 45 years of age than in any other large city. A smaller percentage of them are under 15 and over 45. The large percentage of our people who are in this first group where the death rate is always very low, and the small percentage in these groups where the death rate is always very high, makes the largest correction factor which must be applied to our death rate.

"*Second*—An exceptionally large percentage of our people are country raised. Many of them have been brought up on farms and in small towns in the new states around Chicago. Many of them are the hardiest and most resistant among the young men and women from Europe. This is a correction factor which cannot be mathematically determined but which, I should guess, would be larger here than for any other city of 1,000,000 population or over in the world.

"*Third*—Lake Michigan gives us a pure water supply. It is a large factor in purifying the air.

"*Fourth*—The high winds which do harm in some ways help in other ways.

Why the Death Rate is Increasing

"Other factors are of lesser consequence. The largest of these correction factors is that for age. It is becoming less of a factor, and therefore Chicago has already lost first position. This loss is permanent. We are now second among cities of one million and over and eighth among cities of 500,000 and over. Our position will become steadily worse for the following reasons:

"*First*—The proportion of our population at the different age periods is changing.

"*Second*—Our immigration is now coming from countries with higher death rates than those from which we were drawing twenty-five years ago. Their rate was high at home; it is high here.

"*Third*—Our congestion of population is becoming greater.

"*Fourth*—The forces working for the protection of health are tied down by more restrictions than are the forces which are making against health. The forces making for the protection of health are not gaining on the forces which make against health at all, or are gaining more slowly than they are in other cities of the same population group.

"For these reasons the gross death rate of Chicago will slowly grow higher while the gross death rate of London, Berlin, Paris and Vienna will improve slowly. Even if we just hold our own, the improvement in other cities will carry them by us.

What Chicago Must Do

"This opinion is predicated upon Chicago's failure to do the following things:

"*First*—Get a purer outside air.

"*Second*—Get better ventilation in the houses.

"*Third*—Get better housing for its people of small means.

"*Fourth*—Prevent congestion.

"*Fifth*—Provide better sanitation in working places.

"*Sixth*—Secure better care of the physical condition of school children.

"*Seventh*—Procure better protection of its milk supply.

"*Eighth*—Provide better infant welfare work.

"*Ninth*—Obtain better control of communicable disease.

"If these things are done, this prophecy will not come true. If we go on as now, it will. If we slip back from our present standards of doing, we will be a health shame within ten years.

"About so much can be done with tools. A good engineer can get more pull out of a dinky locomotive than a poor one can, but a dinky engine can never be expected to pull a 1,000-ton train.

"Chicago now has a twenty-five cent per capita health department. Some part of this money is spent for things not closely connected with health; some part of it is relief. But let us say there is a gross expenditure of twenty-five cents per capita. Let us assume that the difference between efficiency and inefficiency is, say, about ten per cent. After these allowances are made we can arrive at about the following conclusions:

"A twenty-five cent health department for Chicago can hold the gross death rate under 16 per thousand for a few years. It can hold the number of deaths from diphtheria at about 800; from scarlet fever at about 600; typhoid at about 300 and baby deaths from summer complaint at about 3,000. It can keep small-pox epidemics about 12 years apart, and paralyzing epidemics of diphtheria or scarlet fever about 4 or 6 years apart.

A health department spending fifty cents per capita should put diphtheria down to, say, 100 deaths per year; scarlet fever to about 500; typhoid to 120; and cut off 5 per cent from the consumption mortality. It should be able to add 10 years to the smallpox intervals, and 3 or 4 years to the diphtheria and scarlet fever intervals.

"A health department costing \$1.00 per capita should improve these conditions and materially improve the sickness rate from colds, pneumonia and consumption.

What a \$3.00 Health Department Could Do

"A \$3.00 per capita health department will cause small-pox to recur only at very long intervals; diphtheria to disappear as an endemic disease; the typhoid rate to fall from its present rate, 15 per

100,000 to 1 or 2 per 100,000; will cut the rate from consumption to one-half its present figure; will decrease the loss from colds by one-third; will increase the efficiency of the school child 20 per cent; will increase the efficiency of labor, say, 10 per cent; will accomplish nearly as great an improvement in efficiency of human effort and in health conditions over the conditions now prevailing as the \$3 per capita health administration in the Panama Canal Zone has increased health security and efficiency over that which formerly prevailed there.

"A \$10.00 per capita health administration continued for 15 years should eliminate consumption, small-pox, diphtheria, and typhoid; should greatly lessen scarlet fever; should halve the baby death rate; should halve poverty and materially decrease crime; should increase the efficiency of labor materially.

"What we are asking the community to understand is that it is more necessary and, at the same time, more difficult to watch the individuals to the end that their health and the health of the community may be protected than it is to do the watching that is required by the police and by the fire department; that the money loss from preventable disease is greater than is the money loss from bad fire protection or bad police protection, and that this money loss is being carried by the community, through the cost of self-protection against disease, or through charity maintained by the county, the state or by private individuals; that the charity service maintained by the county and the state is responsible for the largest expenditures of those branches of the government. The people must understand that this money is actually being expended; that lives are being lost; that the people are dying. We are accustomed to it. We have been standing it and we have the idea that we must continue to stand it. But that it is possible for us to escape it, I believe! I believe that a department, the duty of which is to win us escape from these things, is more important than any other." (Applause.)

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THE NATIONAL GRANGE AND THE PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT

"The Part which the National Grange is Taking in the Progressive Movement of the Country," was the subject of an address before the City Club on January 24 by Mr. Oliver Wilson of Peoria, formerly Master of the State Grange of Illinois and at present lecturer for the National Grange. Mr. Wilson's address was in part a plea for greater co-operation between the city and the country districts in matters affecting their common interests. He also outlined the progressive policies which had received the endorsement and active support of the Grange, a national organization for the advancement of the agricultural interests of the country.

Accompanying Mr. Wilson as guests of the Club were Mr. Robert Eaton, Master of the State Grange of Illinois, Mr. W. A. Baldwin, editor of the Joliet News, Mr. Eugene A. Dinet, a merchant of Joliet, and Mr. H. E. Young, editor of the Farmers' Review. Previous to Mr. Wilson's address Mr. Eaton spoke briefly expressing appreciation of the opportunity given the representatives of the Grange to address a city audience

from the standpoint of the rural interests. He emphasized the need of a better understanding between the city and the country districts.

Mr. George Dawson presided.

Oliver Wilson

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: I was much surprised some days ago when I received a letter from one of your officials asking me to be present at this luncheon and to speak in behalf of the organization which I represent. The people of down state, you know, sometimes look with a little suspicion on the village of Chicago, but, when I asked your secretary the object of this meeting, I was assured that it was merely a fraternal gathering, a coming together in the interest of a better understanding between the country and the city and of a better knowledge on the part of the people of the city of purposes and point of view of the National Grange.

"The National Grange has been before the people for almost half a century and has probably been as much misrepresented and as little understood as any

organization that was ever created. It is one of the proudest thoughts of the members of this organization that the Grange has been a leader of thought and public sentiment for the last forty years. Measures that are now squarely before the people for adoption, were advocated by the Grange years ago, as you will find out in looking up the records.

"I am a firm believer in the proposition that the time has gone by when there should be any division between city and country interests. It has been truly said that the country might get along without the city, but that the city could not get along at all without the country. Nevertheless, we have, or should have, mutual interests.

"In some of our great centers of trade, however, we can find men and women of seeming intelligence who have failed to grasp the idea that the farmer has made any advance in recent years. I rarely see a picture of a farmer in the city papers which represents him in his true light. The newspapers picture him with his corduroy breeches and cowhide boots, but you would have to go a day's travel over the central part of this State before you would find a single farmer of that type. The newspaper men should wake up and picture the farmer and his family getting into a fine carriage with a \$600 team, or into a two or three thousand dollar automobile. To say that the farmer has made no advance is just as mistaken and absurd as to say that the city of Chicago has made no advance over the day when the business man of your town transacted his business over a plain little table, in an undersized office, by the light of an old tallow dip and without the aid of typewriter or copying press.

City and Country Should Work Together

"The city and country have been too much divided in their interests. The people of the city sometimes seem to want the State of Illinois to submit every question to the county of Cook, although the county of Cook has but a little over one-third of the representatives in the General Assembly of the State. I believe that the time has come when the representatives of Chicago should be big enough and broad enough not to

consider the interests of this city alone, but the interests of the entire State as well. I am also fully convinced that the down-state representatives in our General Assembly should be big enough and broad enough to consider the interests of this magnificent city of which every son of Illinois is justly proud.

"I wish now to tell you some of the things for which our organization is working. In the very early days, it advocated rural mail delivery. I am sorry to say that many of the citizens of our small towns opposed rural free mail delivery, but the efforts of this organization made it possible for this service to become a permanent feature of the postal system.

"We believe in and are advocating federal aid for the public highways. We believe in good roads, but are not necessarily advocating hard roads or stone roads. We believe that the public highways belong to the people and should be improved and maintained, not simply by the farmers, but by the government. It is just as much to the interest of the public to appropriate money for the improvement of public highways as to appropriate money for the improvement of waterways or of any other public utility.

"Again, we believe in and have advocated for a great many years a better system of parcels post. That our government should maintain a more liberal policy in the matter of parcels delivery for the benefit of thirty or thirty-five other countries of the world than it maintains for its own people is simply absurd.

Conservation of Soils Favored

"We believe in the conservation of our natural resources, particularly of our most important natural resource, the soil. We take the position that no farmer has the right to wear out the soil for the soil belongs to the future generations. The present owner holds it merely for a time. He should turn it over to the next generation as good—if not better—than he found it.

"We believe in a national income tax.

"About thirty years ago the Grange published and declared its advocacy of the election of United States senators by a direct vote. We will have support on this measure from the city as well as the

country. Recent events in this state have proven to the satisfaction of every honest man that this method should be followed in the selection of United States senators. It will be only a very few years until we will see that it is an accomplished fact.

"Our organization does not enter into the realm of partisan politics. We believe in teaching politics as the science of government, and we believe that the farmer should have a fair and a square deal. We believe that so long as the tariff policy of this government is a protective one there should be given to the products of American agriculture the same protection that is given to manufactured articles. We only ask for justice and equity. We have never yet asked for a measure merely to bolster up the agricultural interests. We believe that if American agriculture with a square deal and fair laws cannot hold its own, it must necessarily go down. But we are opposed to any system that will protect a manufacturing interest or any other interest, against the basic agricultural interests of this country.

Ship Subsidy Opposed

"We believe in progressive policies and in working against those interests that do not advance the welfare of the country at large. We have been and are today opposed to a subsidized merchant marine. There has never been a time in the history of the national organization when this question has come up, that the great shipping interests have not been there with their lobbyists and representatives, but there has never been a vote in the National Grange favoring the subsidizing of the merchant marine. And we have had representatives from the Atlantic to the Pacific Coast, from the Gulf to the Great Lakes. The agricultural people in this country do not believe in the ship subsidy.

"We have advocated postal savings banks and we have them today—not just as this organization wanted them, perhaps, but we have the beginnings of a system which may work out all right. We are opposed on the other hand to a centralized United States Bank.

"We have actively supported a better system of education. I hope that the members of this Club will use their in-

fluence with the representatives of Cook county to work and vote for a measure that will come up before the State Legislature allowing an appropriation for the transportation of pupils in the rural districts to the consolidated schools. We are satisfied that the day has gone by when the boy or girl that is born or reared on the farm must necessarily go to a town or city to receive an ordinary high school education. The time is coming when consolidated schools will be scattered throughout the State. We have one in my own home county, but we are handicapped, because the Legislature so far has not seen fit to allow the appropriation of public funds for the transportation of pupils. Our bill is an optional bill allowing those districts which may desire to so appropriate the public funds to do so. It will not affect those districts that do not believe in it or do not want it or do not need it. But in the interest of those districts that have consolidated schools, the members of this Club should unite with organized labor, with civic and agricultural organizations to bring about this needed legislation.

Agriculture the Basis of City Prosperity

"I like to see that the people of the city of Chicago—at least, as represented in this meeting—recognize that its wealth and prosperity and advancement rest not only in Chicago, but in the great agricultural districts of the State. Let us consider thoroughly and well the questions which I have discussed today. I believe such consideration will bring about a better civic condition in the State of Illinois. It will help to put down bribery and to see that honest and just men are elected to all positions of honor and trust. I am satisfied that your Club today is doing a great work along these lines, but the country and the city have not had a fair understanding one with the other. There have frequently been jealousies between different parts of the State. The farmers of the State of Illinois are at the present time paying more state taxes according to what they are worth than any other class of business men. They have a right to be represented in the State Legislature. Their demands should be heeded and not met with the sneering faces of the legislators from the cities.

"I trust that in the future, the city of Chicago will work hand in hand with the farmers for the advancement of the State of Illinois. I hope that the farmers of this State will be big enough and broad enough to grasp the idea of co-operation and will work hand in hand with the city for the benefit of both. There is only one thought that we must insist on and that is that the city of Chicago should recognize that it is still in the State of Illinois and not that the State of Illinois is in the city of Chicago." (Applause.)

MR. J. W. HINER: "Is the Grange as active politically as it was twenty or twenty-five years ago?"

Grange is Non-Partisan

MR. WILSON: "The Grange years ago went into personal politics but we have grown above that now. When we talk politics in the Grange now, we talk it as simply as 'the science of government.' We believe in increasing the political power of the farmer, but not his partisanship."

MR. HINER: "What means do you take to promulgate the policies which you have outlined?"

MR. WILSON: "We carry on this work by agitation, education, the spreading of circulars, etc., among our membership. These measures that I have mentioned have been approved by the National Grange and are discussed probably in every local organization of the Grange in the United States. We do not in any way bind the membership, but we believe that education brings us all to one belief. We understand one another and generally there is not much difference of opinion."

MR. HINER: "Have you representatives in Congress and the Legislature as lobbyists?"

MR. WILSON: "We do not care to term them that; we have legislative committees. There is a legislative committee in close contact with Congress at all times when it is in session, especially when there are measures up affecting the great interests of agriculture. The State Grange of Illinois keeps a regular standing committee that appears at stated times to present the actual facts with reference to any proposed meas-

ure and the demands of the organized farmers of the State."

A MEMBER: "What is the present size of the Grange?"

MR. WILSON: "We have close to a million members—I cannot give you the exact figures. That, of course, is not a large proportion of the agricultural population."

"The Grange is numerically the strongest in New York state. New York has about one hundred thousand members. In the little State of New Hampshire, however, the territory is most thoroughly covered. It is said that every township in New Hampshire has a live, active Grange in it. In the State of Illinois two-thirds of the counties of the State are partially organized. We are scattered through the State from the extreme northern boundary to the Cairo line."

MR. GEO. E. HOOKER: "How often do you hold meetings?"

MR. WILSON: "The Granges usually meet every two weeks. They are required to meet at least once a month. The meetings are conducted along the lines which best suit the membership. No Grange ever meets without a literary program, a discussion of public questions or something of the sort. Every Grange in the United States has a lecturer who prepares the program. Many of these programs are prepared a year in advance and printed. Of course, subjects of current interest are taken up for discussion as they come along."

A MEMBER: "How is the Grange organized?"

MR. WILSON: "We have state conventions every year. Last month this State held its thirty-seventh annual session. The National Grange met in November in Atlantic City, New Jersey, for its forty-fourth annual convention. This convention was attended by two representatives from each state."

Woman's Suffrage Advocated

"This is a woman's organization as well as a man's organization. We believe that the farm is not a success without the help of women, and we doubt a little whether an organization can fully be a success without their presence. We advocate female suffrage. The Grange as a body has not voted on it but if a

vote were taken I believe that the Grange would stand strongly in favor of it."

MR. W. G. EDENS: "You spoke of the Grange as being opposed to subsidizing the merchant marine. There are merchants in this city who have interests in the South American trade. They find in their business, that there is only one mail departure a month from New York to South American ports. They find that they cannot meet competition properly without more frequent mail service. They believe that if the merchant marine were subsidized, they would have better mail service. When a letter reaches New York for South America it frequently must go to Europe first and then go back to South America.

Letters from South America frequently come by way of Europe."

MR. WILSON: "We believe in the best mail facilities possible, but we believe in calling things by their right names. If the mail facilities are not adequate—and I am not here to say that they are—that is a matter of the transmission of their mail and the payment of a proper charge for the service rendered. But that is not a subsidy."

MR. DAWSON: "I would like to ask Mr. Wilson whether Granges ever combine for the purpose of getting into the market?"

MR. WILSON: "That is one of their purposes."

CARE OF DEPENDENT CHILDREN

On January 28, Dr. Hastings H. Hart, director of the Department of Child Helping of the Russell Sage Foundation, New York City, addressed the City Club on the subject of "What is being done for the Dependent Children of the United States." Mr. Henry W. Thurston, president of the Chicago Home and Aid Society, a Chicago organization for the placing of dependent children in homes, presided.

Dr. Hastings H. Hart

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: There are a number of things which are exceedingly significant and exceedingly encouraging in the situation with reference to the care of dependent and neglected children in the United States. The thing which is most encouraging in regard to the whole matter is the earnestness and zeal with which people are studying the problem. Only a few years ago it was thought that if you wanted a superintendent of an orphan asylum or children's home or a secretary of a children's aid society or a superintendent of a reform school, that a superannuated clergyman, a worn out school master, some man who had demonstrated his capability in ward politics, or any good woman of altruistic tendency would do for that place. I am not speaking figuratively; I am speaking of absolute facts.

The State of Wisconsin put at the head of one of its most important institutions a man who had been a journalist and had performed certain important services for the politicians of the state. That is the only qualification he had.

"Now, however, the country is being searched for competent men and women to fill positions of this kind. It is required that the people who fill these positions be selected for this work with special reference to their experience and qualifications.

"Two years ago the President of the United States appointed as assistant secretary of the treasury Mr. Charles D. Hillis of New York. Mr. Hillis was superintendent of a reform school known as the Children's Village in the suburbs of New York. For the past two years the trustees of that institution have been searching the United States in vain to find a man good enough to fill his place, although they are offering five thousand dollars a year to get the right man."

"The Minnesota Legislature recently provided for an institution for girls to be located away up in the western part of the state. They went to Massachusetts and arranged with Mrs. Frances S. Morse, the superintendent of the United States Industrial School, to take charge of that school at a salary of

twenty-five hundred dollars a year and maintenance.

"It is interesting to find in the old conservative parts of the country, a receptive state of mind toward the more advanced methods of dealing with children. The east does not hesitate to go west for people. In the Russell Sage Foundation Department of Child Helping, of which I am the head, I have assistants from Rochester, New York, Pittsburg, Chicago, Arizona, South Dakota, Des Moines, St. Paul, and only two from the Atlantic Coast. That state of mind which leads people to search for the most efficient people wherever they can find them is exceedingly hopeful. That, to me, is the most significant thing in dealing with children's work.

A Revolution in Methods

"There has been a remarkable revolution in the thinking of people in regard to dealing with children—beginning almost sixty years ago when Mr. C. L. Brace organized the Children's Aid Society in the City of New York. Formerly the orphan asylum plan of bringing dependent children up to manhood and womanhood was the approved way of dealing with children. It was hard to break with all the old traditions. Mr. Brace began to gather up the children of the slums and the alleys of New York, and to send them out on the prairies and to the villages of the West to grow up as citizens of the western country. That work was sometimes crude and sometimes reckless and careless, but on the whole it turned out well.

"In 1868, the State of Massachusetts started upon the plan of caring for children in family homes instead of in institutions. The state home for children was abolished and the children were put into private homes where their board was paid for them. This was done first with the infants, then with the younger dependent children, then with the older dependent children, and finally with the delinquent dependent children. That work has been continued until it has reached a very high degree of efficiency.

"Last year, the State of Massachusetts spent four hundred thousand dollars in finding homes for children, in boarding them, clothing them, paying for their schooling and paying for their supervi-

sion and visitation. The city of Boston spent nearly a hundred thousand dollars in the same kind of work. Four children's societies in the city of Boston spent about one hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars. The method has spread into other states. It is found quite extensively in Pennsylvania. It is found in New Jersey. It is found all through the middle west.

"In this part of the country we very easily adopted the policy of using the family home as the place for caring for the child. We learned our lesson from Mr. Brace who sent children west by the thousands, first to western New York, Connecticut, Maryland and Pennsylvania, then over into Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin and finally, as at present, into Texas and Oklahoma.

Discrimination Needed in Care of Children

"The western states took this method up and improved upon it. The fault with Mr. Brace's method was that he dealt with children by wholesale—in carload lots. Children were gathered up and distributed into homes without much discrimination. But, now, there is increasing recognition of the importance of the most conscientious fidelity and careful discrimination in dealing with children. Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota and other states in this country recognized that very early. What is the result?

"In 1904, the United States Bureau of the Census made an examination of orphan asylums and children's homes and published a most interesting report on the subject. It was found that in the whole United States, out of every one hundred thousand people, one hundred and twelve children are found in orphan asylums or children's homes. In the District of Columbia, out of every one hundred thousand people, twenty-one are in the orphan asylums. That is because the placing of children in homes is subsidized by the United States government and is profitable. In the State of New York, out of one hundred thousand people, there are three hundred and seventeen children in the orphan asylums. In the State of California—where I believe they have the same sort of a subsidy as

that which is given in the District of Columbia—out of every hundred thousand people, two hundred and sixty are found in the orphan asylums. In the State of Illinois there are only ninety-nine out of every hundred thousand so situated, but when you go into Wisconsin and Michigan and Minnesota you will find the number running down as low as from sixty to eighty. The reason for that is the prevalence of the method of using the family home for the care of the child.

"There was organized in this state in 1883 a society known as the Children's Home Society. That society departed from the method followed by Mr. Brace and instead of sending the children west by carload lots, handled them one by one. The superintendent of that society himself took the first child one hundred and eighty miles to place her in a family home.

"That society in its early days was very poor. It had very little money. It was inexperienced. It had to gradually work its way until it found out the method by which its work should be done. But the method spread from state to state until there are now not less than thirty children's home societies in the United States, which are expending something like a half million dollars a year in doing their work and which have accumulated funds probably to the amount of three-quarters of a million of dollars.

Children Kept at Home Where Possible

"These societies gradually are raising their standards and improving the methods of their work. Originally they were merely placing out societies. But there has been a steady change of sentiment and judgment on the part of the people who are doing that work and, as a result, the societies are examining much more carefully into the needs of the children they handle. They have come to recognize that not every child ought to be placed in a home. For instance, the Children's Home and Aid Society of this city, spends at least twice as much money as it once did in keeping the children in their own homes. Instead of deciding offhand that a child who is in their charge shall be placed in a home, the officers of the society question first as

to the fitness and ability of the parents and as to whether or not the child's home is a fit one. If the home is not fit they investigate as to whether or not in some way it can be made fit, whether the conscience of those parents can be stimulated or whether their resources can be increased.

"There is an increasing unwillingness on the part of reputable children's societies that I am acquainted with, to break up the family relation if that can be avoided. It was stated in the proceedings of the Children's Conference at Washington two years ago, that no family should be broken up simply on account of the poverty of the parents, but that, if the mother be of reasonably good character and efficiency, in some way means should be found to enable the mother to bring up her own child. That, I think, is the universal sentiment today.

"On the other hand, if the home is not fit and cannot be made fit, or if the child is orphaned or entirely abandoned by its parents, it is generally recognized that it is much better to find a good, carefully selected family home for that child than it is to bring it up in an orphan asylum.

Alleged Advantages of Institutional Care

"There are certain parts of our population that have been slow to receive this new gospel of child work. The Roman Catholic Church for many years held very tenaciously to the use of the institution. They made a very good argument in defense of this policy. They said that in the ordinary family home the child, oftentimes, cannot have a fair chance; that the parents may live in a bad environment; that the parents might be vicious or simply inefficient, poor or sick. They said that in the institution the environment of the child can be controlled absolutely; perfect sanitary conditions can be produced, perfect ventilation can be secured, and perfect cleanliness attained. In the institution the child's diet can be regulated under the directions of the physician and its sleep can be regulated. Its education, both secular and religious can be more carefully supervised. The child will never run the streets nights, will never get into bad company. We can be sure that he is in his place at school. We can ab

solutely protect the life of the child until his character becomes established and his habits altogether fixed. Why, then, shouldn't we be able to produce a better result than in the ordinary family home? This was the position of the Roman Catholic Church.

"I remember a woman who came from Kansas to the city of Grand Rapids when the National Conference of Charities met there in 1896. She said, 'We are engaged in Kansas in building the greatest institution for girls that ever was known. We have a large farm and expect ultimately to provide for five thousand girls. The ordinary mother,' she said, 'is not capable of bringing up a girl. She doesn't understand child culture and child nature.' About the first of October, when I was in Indianapolis, I saw a home for old people which was in charge of the same persons who had proposed the ideal home for children. Somehow that ideal home failed to materialize.

Routine of Institution Destroys Initiative

"In an 'ideal' institution there are bells for the boy to get up and bells for him to go to prayers and bells for him to go to school and bells for him to come back to his meals. What does that mean? It means that some one else is doing his thinking. He has no initiative. The result is that people have come to the conclusion that the best place for the neglected child is the carefully selected family home.

"Our Roman Catholic friends, as I have said, are very practicable. In 1898, the National Home Bureau was selected for the purpose of placing Catholic children in Catholic homes. The work was placed in the hands of a high-class man and the organization has now become the clearing house for two hundred orphan asylums. Its work of finding homes for children is done with the utmost conscientiousness and fidelity. In New Hampshire, Father Foy—one of the finest men I ever met—organized a Catholic orphan asylum, which became a clearing house for placing Catholic children in family homes. Some children cannot and ought not be placed in family homes, because some of them can be placed in homes by their friends. I say

we have legitimate work for the orphan asylum although it is of secondary importance to the home.

"What I want to bring to your attention just now is this: While the middle west has gone far ahead of the east in developing the child-placing movement, we have now fallen seriously behind in furnishing the means to maintain this work according to proper standards. I speak with feeling because I spent ten years in this city, struggling with that problem. At that time, we did some things which were very disgraceful. I went up and down this State telling the people how cheaply we could take care of children; how we would take a child and for fifty dollars follow it from the cradle to the grave. We told them how much money we were going to save the taxpayer of this county.

The Modern Ideal for the Care of Dependent Children

"Boston has taught us a better way. The first thing Boston does is to ascertain just what ought to be done for the child—the very best possible thing—and then to proceed to do it at whatever necessary cost. One of the men who helped to develop that standard in Boston is doing a very extraordinary work in this city—and that is Mr. Sherman C. Kingsley. Mr. Kingsley was at the head of the Children's Friend Society in the city of Boston and was called from that place to this city. He had his training in the office of Mr. Charles W. Burtwell of the Boston Children's Aid Society.

"While I was in Boston about two years ago I went to inspect the work of the Children's Aid Society. I visited eleven of the children under Mr. Kingsley's charge. I saw in one of the homes where these children had been placed a young girl of fifteen years, who had been taken by the society seven years before. The girl's mother was living and had a little means and was able to contribute about fifty cents a week toward her support. This she had done with great fidelity during these seven years. When that girl came into the hands of Mr. Kingsley she was very much afflicted. She had a very bad case of lateral curvature of the spine; she had trouble with her eyes; she was flat-footed; she had adenoids and enlarged tonsils; her teeth

were crooked and required to be straightened. To add to the difficulty of the case, a short time after she came into the hands of Mr. Kingsley's society she developed a habit of stealing anything she could get her hands on.

What Boston Did for a Neglected Child

"The society placed her in charge of an agent. They took her to the children's hospital where she received treatment for six weeks and where the lateral curvature was reduced fifty per cent. She was then placed in a boarding home, the mother paying fifty cents a week and the society the remainder. In this home, arrangements were made for the woman to bring the child to the hospital once or twice a week for the physical exercise and other things necessary to treat the spine. The people in the hospital finally gave the woman a little training so she could do that herself. An orthopedist finally got the arch of the foot built up and relieved her of that difficulty. After a course of treatment for her eyes, she was provided with glasses; later she was able to do without glasses altogether. Her tonsils were removed, thus relieving her of the tonsilitis which had long troubled her. The trouble with the teeth was taken up with a dentist.

"Then the question arose as to the habit of pilfering which the girl had developed. Every effort was made by the agent and others who had the girl in charge to break her of that habit, but without success. They even threatened to put her in a reform school, but instead of doing this they removed everything from the girl's room and put her on a diet of bread and water. That treatment ended the difficulty; it was exactly that treatment and nothing else that the girl needed.

"When I saw the girl at fifteen years of age she was straight. She had a beautiful complexion. The agent made her show me her teeth. She was an attractive girl in the second year in high school and working for her board, the mother making a contribution. The mother and the girl's sister were trying to persuade her to give up her schooling in order that she might go out and work to help support her sister. The agent and the woman were at work to make her happy and keep her. I don't

know what the society spent on that girl. It may have spent a thousand dollars, but the product was worth it. There you have an example of the twentieth century standard of dealing with dependent children.

"In Boston they spend, as I have said, whatever is necessary for the care of the children. Boston today is doing the most advanced piece of work in the placing out of children that is being done in the world. It is under the care of Miss Mary Dusen, who has charge of the girls discharged from the Lancaster Industrial School for Girls. She has under her charge over two hundred children. She has a stenographer, a record clerk, herself and seven or eight visitors to care for those children. That means one person for every thirty girls out in family homes. They are spending about seventeen thousand dollars a year in maintaining that agency, but they are doing the work and doing it as it ought to be done.

The Children's Home and Aid Society

"As I have said, Boston spends one hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars for the children cared for by the different societies. Philadelphia contributes eighty-five thousand dollars to the work of the Philadelphia Children's Aid Society. We have a children's society in this city, the Chicago Children's Home and Aid Society. This organization covers not only the city of Chicago but the entire State of Illinois. I do not know the proportions during the year just passed, but in my day the number of Chicago children cared for was about equal to the number of children that came from down state.

"This society last year had an income of fifty-seven thousand dollars. That may seem a large amount of money, but I want to say to you that after an experience in that work of ten years, I know that that amount of money is absolutely inadequate to do the work which is laid upon the society. The consequence is that Mr. Thurston is continually compelled to postpone work that he would like to do. He is frequently compelled to undergo the mortification of having trained assistants taken right out from under him by other people who are willing to pay more money; this com-

pels him to take inexperienced people in their places and to train them up to the point of efficiency. I lost five good assistants in Chicago in one year in that way.

"It is a very necessary thing to have orphan asylums. But you don't need any more here, if you will take care of the society which has assumed this work. But when the society is compelled to employ insufficient or inexperienced people, a conscientious officer is left in a perpetual state of misery because he feels he has undertaken a work which is too big for him. What I want to ask today, in behalf of the Children's Home and Aid Society, is that, just as this city came magnificently to the support of the work of the United Charities, so it should provide the necessary funds for the Children's Home and Aid Society.

"I am not exaggerating when I state to you that Mr. Thurston can use economically and efficiently one hundred thousand dollars a year. Even then he will be twenty-five thousand dollars short of the necessary amount. But the city of Boston is spending one hundred thousand dollars per year. When the time comes that the city recognizes the magnificence and importance of that work, it will bring about a yearly saving of millions of dollars to the state.

A Substitute for Orphan Asylums

"Indiana made a mistake a good many years ago. It created a system of county children's homes; it built fifty of them. But there was a bill passed through the legislature of Indiana a few years ago that had a joker in it and the joker permitted the State Board of Charities to appoint an agent to look after neglected children. If the agent found children in the state institutions who should be placed in family homes, he was given authority to so place them. After a while the story was circulated that the state was placing children in homes outside of the country. It was remarkable how many fathers and uncles and aunts appeared who were ready to care for the children. Already twelve out of the fifty asylums have been closed and the work is going on. In the meantime the standards of child welfare in that whole state are being elevated.

"In the State of Massachusetts thirteen orphan asylums have been closed up in the last fifteen years. In another state they stopped building them. You do not have too many in the State of Illinois, but you have enough to do the work for the next twenty-five years, if you will simply perfect and sustain the excellent system of child placing which has already been established.

"The time will come in this state, I believe, as it has come in New Jersey and Indiana, when it will be necessary to supplement the work of the voluntary societies by the work of a state agency. I believe that New Jersey has, on the whole, the most practical law of this sort. This law provides for a state board of children's guardians, whose exclusive duty it is to look after the children who are public wards. I think that we shall come to that in our western states. But I want to say to you, you cannot make a greater mistake than to turn this work over bodily to the state. There are many people in this state who have money and will use it freely and gladly for the dependent and neglected children. I see no reason why you should dry up all the springs of benevolence. Let the people do this work, and let them understand what has already been done.

Public Supervision Should Be Strict

"I believe, however, that anybody who lays his hands upon a helpless child and undertakes to stand in the place of providence and determine the whole future of that child should be under the strict supervision of the public authorities. I believe that every state should see that its children are not exploited, and that they are not placed in the hands of people of improper character. That can be done at a very small expense.

"This state has expended in the reformation of so-called 'bad' children, in two state reformatories, two millions of dollars. It is now about to appropriate for the maintenance of these children over two hundred thousand dollars. When the last legislature was asked to make an allowance of two thousand dollars for the use of the office of the agent of the State Board of Charities in looking after dependent children, that modest request was refused. That is one of the most astounding things I know to have hap-

pened in the state of Illinois. Two hundred thousand dollars for state reformatories for delinquent children, and two thousand dollars refused to care for children who had not done anything wrong. It is time we should begin to equalize these things somewhat and to see to it that the child that is simply unfortunate, that is not accused of any fault, has at least an equal chance with the child who has broken over the law and has come to be classed as delinquent. Is it not a shame in this state that a child must violate some law or ordinance in order to get the same opportunity which it will give to him if he will simply violate the law? I thank you." (Applause.)

In response to a question by Mr. W. H. Dunn as to the relation between the state and the Children's Home and Aid Society, Dr. Hart said:

"It seems to me that it is the duty of the state not only to demand fidelity of the society, but to take such action as to insure that fidelity. The state some five years ago organized an agency for that express purpose. That agency, which had subject to its visitation something like five thousand children, had an annual appropriation which enabled it to employ, besides the agent himself, only two visitors—one of them on part time only. It was a physical impossibility for such a staff to do the work which it ought to do. I think the private agencies went to the limit of propriety when they urged upon the legislature that they should make the state's own agency efficient to look after the private institutions."

Removal of Children from State Criticized

Mr. Dunn also raised the question of the propriety of placing children in homes outside of the state. He stated that in a number of cases children had been taken to other states, and even to Canada. The removal of a child from the state, he said, made inspection and supervision difficult, and thereby increased the danger that the child would be exploited. Numerous cases of maltreatment of children had resulted from this practice, he said.

Dr. Hart replied to this that the homes in which children were placed

were carefully selected, although occasional mistakes were unavoidable. Most of the children who had been removed to other states had been taken with families who were emigrating. The Children's Home and Aid Society requires persons in whose home a child is placed to agree not to remove that child from the state. But frequently the members of the family become very much attached to the child and wish to take it with them when they move outside the state. When that is the case, and when the child wishes to accompany them, it is quite proper and often best that this should be permitted. Dr. Hart stated that he saw no more reason why the work of the children's societies should be limited by state lines than that it should be limited by county lines. A child who is removed to a different state is taken under the supervision of the children's society in that state, and if there are indications that the child is not properly cared for or is likely to become a public burden, it is ordered to be returned.

Danger of Exploitation

Mr. Dunn asserted that it frequently happened that children who were placed out on trial were dropped as soon as their labor power had been exploited to the limit by their guardians. He inquired if the persons who took a child were under any obligation to adopt him. To this Dr. Hart replied:

"They are under no such obligation. It is sometimes undesirable that they should adopt him. If you permit a farmer to adopt a boy of fourteen and give him absolute control over that child, there is danger that the boy will become a mere drudge. If, however, you make the farmer simply the guardian of the boy and reserve the right to remove him whenever necessary for his own protection, you safeguard the rights of the child and prevent his exploitation. When you surrender him for adoption, you surrender the right to protect him. In the state of Iowa we had at one time under our care more than one hundred children. They were visited and cared for with the utmost fidelity. Nearly all of them did well. But we found one boy who was little better than a slave to the farmer into whose home he had been

taken. The farmer kept him out of school and had given practically no consideration to the boy's welfare. We brought suit against the farmer and secured damages to the extent of \$600.

"The society is looking after its children. That it is not looking after them as well as I wish it would is due simply to the lack of means."

Dr. Hart, questioned further by Mr. Dunn, denied that he had stated in his book that a certain County Board had refused to give him as much as \$50 a head for the children cared for by the society because competing societies were ready to take them for \$25.

"As a matter of fact," said Dr. Hart, "some of the counties of this state have been accustomed to give certain sums for the care of children. That is not the method, I believe, in Wisconsin. When I came into the service, 30 per cent of the income of the Illinois society for the care of the children came from the counties. When I left the service less than 10 per cent was so obtained. I should have been glad to do away with it altogether. There are societies in this state that will agree to care for children at \$25 each. I think that is wrong, because it creates a false impression that you can care for a child properly for \$25."

Dr. Hart was questioned as to whether or not the society was amenable in any way to the public authorities for asking a donation from the guardian at the time of placing a child. He stated that there was no law governing such a case, but that he would regard such a practice as grossly improper.

Mr. Dunn stated it to be his opinion that, on general principles, work of the sort carried on by the Children's Home and Aid Society should be carried on by the state itself, and not through the agency of a private society. The state's own officers, he said, would be more amenable to public control than the officer of a private society.

Dr. Hart took rather vigorous exception to this point of view, though advocating strict supervision of the work of the private agencies.

"Don't you believe," he said, "that state agencies have to be watched? You must exercise just as great care in watching your state agencies as in watching your private agencies. I would rather see this work carried on by a private agency under strict public supervision than by a state agency which is independent and has no one to oversee its work."

Pol. Sci.

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THE PRACTICAL OPERATION OF THE INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM

The approval at the last election of Public Policy Question No. 1, providing for the initiative and referendum and the submission of a constitutional amendment to the legislature in accordance with this expression of popular will, has made the subject of direct legislation one of great local importance. Mr. George Judson King of Toledo, a representative of the National Referendum League, discussed the practical operation of the initiative and referendum in the United States before the City Club on Saturday, the 4th instant, Mr. Walter S. Rogers, chairman of the Peoria Committee of Seven, presiding. Mr. King spoke as follows:

George Judson King

"A few weeks ago, out in the city of Salem, Oregon, the capital of that state, I had a long talk with a former bank clerk. He told me that shortly after every legislature convened, the banks used to be crowded with \$100 bills. Particularly was this true whenever a United States Senator was to be elected. He told me that the price of the United States Senatorship was from \$50,000 up, and that the shrewd politicians, since they were electing a Senator to represent the railroads, took a tip from the practices of the railroad world and charged 'all the traffic would bear'; that the election of a Senator interfered with the work of the legislature and usually consumed a whole session; that corruption was rife, the state disgraced, and in the end the people were always defeated.

"In 1904 the people adopted a primary law—a real one—and since then three United States Senators have been chosen by the legislature *under direction*

of the people, without a breath of corruption, and every one of them within thirty minutes' time. At the last election a few men wavered and seemed about to break their pledge with the people. But the word came from back home that "Recall" petitions were ready and they had better keep their word or be retired within sixty days. They obeyed and the whole people of Oregon are now represented in Washington by such progressive leaders as Senators Bourne and Chamberlain.

The New Order in Oregon

"The former bank clerk who gave me this information is now governor of Oregon—Governor West. He told me that a new order of things has come about in his state. Bribery and corruption are rapidly vanishing, the railroad lobbyists have disappeared from the state capitol, the old political machine which once ruled the state is now on the scrap heap and many old boodlers are out of jobs.

"Mr. Frederick V. Holman, president of the State Bar Association, and a very highly educated and agreeable gentleman of irreproachable private character, is a member of this old machine. I speak of Mr. Holman because he is just now the guest of the Civic Federation of Chicago, and is to tell that body to-night that the initiative and referendum is a failure in Oregon. It is very natural for Mr. Holman to take this point of view. He is chief attorney for the Portland Railway, Light and Power Company and several other huge corporations of the predatory sort. Since the introduction of the initiative and referendum and other reforms secured by this means, the group of interests which

Mr. Holman represents has been unable to elect their United States Senator and control the affairs of the state. Of course they are against it! They always have been and always will be! But they have very little influence with the honest business men and the great mass of the voters of Oregon. Mr. Holman's address, when he gets back home, will be greeted with Homeric laughter. When president of the State Bar Association, Mr. Holman appointed a Southern Pacific Railway and Standard Oil attorney—Mr. Fenton—as chairman of his executive committee and stacked every committee with lawyers of the same kind.

"The State Bar Association inaugurated a movement for a constitutional convention, and by reading the proceedings a blind man can see that its chief object was to destroy direct legislation in Oregon. The people understood. When the vote was taken at the polls last November, it stood, in round numbers, 60,000 "No" and 20,000 "Yes." I have told this story completely in LaFollette's Magazine for December 31, in an article entitled 'Oregon Makes Answer,' and this is solid evidence as to the standing of Mr. Holman's machine in Oregon, and, further, what the substantial, honest citizenship of that state think of the initiative and referendum after eight years' experience.

How to Get Real Representative Government

"A very practical situation confronts us. The level-headed business men of this country are coming to realize that we must either save popular government now or it will be lost forever, and the way to conserve popular government is to place in the people's hands the power to compel their representatives to represent the whole people and not a small part of the people. The idea back of initiative and referendum and its practical results when in use is, not to destroy representative government, but to redeem it from corruption. By the referendum bad laws may be vetoed by the people. By use of the initiative, good laws held up and killed for years by the political bosses may be passed by a majority of the people.

"It is objected that 'ill-drawn and ill-

considered measures will be adopted by the people under stress of passion.'

"Nothing could be farther from the truth. Take the corrupt practices act, for example. It was drawn by an attorney who is now upon the Supreme bench. It was carefully gone over by many others. It was submitted to the legislature and promptly rejected by that body. It was then printed upon petitions and 8 per cent or more of the electors signed the petition asking for a popular vote. Much discussion had already taken place in the newspapers, but when the State Publicity Pamphlet, sent to every voter two months before election, was printed, this proposed law came under the eye of every voter of the state. It was everywhere discussed and on election day was enacted by the people by a majority of nearly two to one. It has killed the corruption of the ballot in Oregon, prevented the wholesale use of money in elections, given a poor candidate an equal chance with a rich one, and has worked well. I was in Portland on election day, and even in the slum districts the polling booths were as quiet as a Quaker camp meeting.

"As a matter of fact, every progressive measure proposed in Oregon is first offered to the legislature. Sometimes it is enacted; but in cases where the legislature refuses to do so, the appeal is taken to the people, and that is the way Oregon—a state once as corrupt as Colorado, or Pennsylvania, or some other states you know of—has been redeemed. If the Oregon system had been in use in Illinois, the United States Senate would just now have a different order of business.

"'But the people are radical, and they will adopt every radical measure proposed to them,' says some man.

Not a Radical Measure

"The test of experience everywhere shows that the initiative and referendum in the hands of the people is conservative. The only socialistic measure ever proposed in Oregon was promoted by the business men of Portland to allow the state to own and operate railroads—and very properly, since Hill and Hariman had refused to make extensions in eastern Oregon badly needed. The people rejected the measure, but the rail-

road magnates became so scared that the branch lines are now being built. About half of the measures proposed to the people of Oregon and Oklahoma are rejected, and the same is true of Switzerland.

"But are the people intelligent enough? Will they show wisdom and discrimination?"

"That they show discrimination is proven by the fact that laws are enacted by majorities ranging all the way from 2,000 to 60,000, and laws are rejected by all the way from 4,000 to 55,000. And even the learned professors from Eastern universities have shown great 'surprise' at the ability of the people to discriminate. Even the Portland *Oregonian*, the mouthpiece of predatory wealth in Oregon, has been compelled to admit, editorially, that the people have done as well as the legislature would have done, and unprejudiced observers say they have done it a thousand times better."

"But will the people vote on questions? Shall we not have minority rule under this system?"

Direct Legislation and "Minority Rule"

"The fact that from 65 to 90 per cent of the voters express their will upon the laws on the ballot shows that the people do take an interest. The average in Oregon stands at 75 per cent. The average in Oklahoma is 76 per cent. It is strange indeed that gentlemen who know that a very few men, sometimes one man, determine the fate of the important laws at present should be afraid of 'minority rule' when so large a proportion of the people vote upon them at the elections!"

"Will they adopt 'conflicting measures'?"

"They never have done so in any state yet, although conflicting measures have been proposed. The claim that the people of Oregon enacted two conflicting laws at the same election regulating salmon fishing in the Columbia river is just a plain lie. They *could* not conflict because one regulated net fishing at the mouth of the river and the other wheel fishing up the river, beyond tide water. For years the people had urged the legislature to protect the fish. The rich fish companies, in well known ways, pre-

vented any regulation. The people decided to 'Give the fish a rest,' and by enacting both laws they have finally forced proper protection by a joint commission of the Washington and Oregon legislatures.

"The assertion that the people 'abolished trial by jury' is utterly false. What was done was to forbid the superior courts reversing cases on technical errors when, from the evidence, it was clear that substantial justice had been reached in the lower courts, and to allow a three-fourths verdict of the jury in civil cases only. That this reform will expedite justice and clear the court dockets is perfectly evident to all save those who wish, by appeal, to keep their cases eternally in court and wear out poor litigants. That measure was backed by a huge majority of the attorneys of Oregon."

"But they say South Dakota has a ballot six feet long and charge this as an argument against direct legislation. They are not honest enough to tell you that the legislature of South Dakota, evidently trying to make a farce of the system, enacted a law requiring that every measure submitted to the people must be *printed in full upon the ballot itself*. One law regulating the militia of the state takes up three-quarters of the ballot this year. The six measures on the South Dakota ballot would have occupied about six inches, being placed there *by title only*. Here is your South Dakota ballot, and there are your Oregon and Oklahoma and Maine ballots (illustrating). The six-foot ballot is government by legislature and the short ballots represent government by the people, where honesty and common sense prevail. How can the Civic Federation reply to that?"

Monsieur Referendum

"Let us not forget that the great value of the initiative and referendum lies in its power to educate the citizens, interest them in the affairs of government and, by its mere presence in the hands of the citizens, compel the legislature to do its duty. I was everywhere told in Switzerland that the legislators have to be very careful in the preparation of laws, to make them clear and easily understood and in accord with

existing public opinion, else they would be rejected. When committees are at work on bills and the debates are being conducted in legislative halls, the fear of the people is ever before their eyes. Hence there is an Switzerland a proverb among statesmen, 'Remember, gentlemen, Monsieur Referendum is in the room.' After forty years' use, it has made representative government pure in that country and responsive to the needs of all the people. It is doing so in the various states and cities in this country, and there is not the slightest doubt that it will do the same for the state of Illinois, because the people of Illinois are just as intelligent and just as patriotic as the people of any other state or country. You may bribe a majority in the city council to pass a franchise, you may bribe a majority in a state legislature, but you cannot corrupt the citizens of a whole state. Not yet, thank God!

"Finally, direct legislation leads to a better administration of law—a thing as sadly needed as the enactment of better laws and the repeal of a vast number of bad ones. This is true, first, because a law enacted by the people has behind it an aroused public opinion, and, secondly, because the referendum drives from public life the boodle politicians; the political atmosphere changes, and it becomes possible for decent men to enter public life without fear that their characters will be besmirched or temptations offered which they are unable to bear. Better men come into control of affairs and the public business is attended to in a much more efficient manner.

Restricted Referendum Worse Than None

"Let me warn you that a restricted initiative and referendum is worse than none at all. If you make it necessary to have a majority of 'all votes cast in the election' to adopt a people's measure, it becomes worthless—just as it has in Oklahoma. The ignorant and careless voters will take no interest in principles of legislation. At least 20 per cent of the voters of this state, on an average, will not vote upon measures, although they will vote for some favorite candidate in the election. The whole 200,000 of them will be counted against the people's measure if that majority is required.

And the bosses would not have to turn over their hands or spend a dollar of money to secure that result. Laws should be decided by a majority of those who vote *thereon*. And I think Illinois will be as safe in the hands of the 750,000 citizens who will vote on questions as in the hands of the 204 members of the legislature. Therefore, I propose to you the toast, 'Illinois must have the initiative and referendum and restore the government to the people.'" (Applause.)

Mr. John M. Harlan suggested that, in view of the fact—stated by Mr. King—that most questions submitted under the initiative and referendum were voted on by a majority of those voting upon candidates, the advocates of the initiative and referendum would be in a stronger position, so far as their argument is concerned, if they were content with the demand that all measures submitted to the people should receive a majority of a *quorum* of those voting at the election.

Mr. Raymond Robins took exception to this point of view, referring to the last Cook County election, at which the measure for the establishment of outer park areas was voted upon. He stated that this measure, although of the greatest immediate and practical importance, and although approved by 90 per cent of the intelligent vote in the county, would have been defeated if Mr. Harlan's suggestion had been in effect, so few were the people who were interested in the question and who were educated up to the point of having a real opinion upon it.

"When a measure is submitted for the approval of the people," he said, "and when, of those who have an opportunity to vote, only a certain percentage are interested enough or intelligent enough to vote for or against it, the vote of that percentage is the full expression of the intelligent interest of the community upon that proposition. It satisfies every one of the fundamental demands of democracy and self-government."

Giving the Legislature a Chance

Mr. Robins raised the question of the advisability of having all initiative measures first presented to the legislature in order that the legislature might either approve them, or submit with them at

the ensuing election a substitute measure for an expression of the people's choice.

Mr. King stated that this plan was a very good one, but that it sometimes had the disadvantage of requiring a long delay before a vote on a measure could

agency arises, immediate action is possible. Mr. King stated that most of the proposed legislation would go to the legislature in any case. Nineteen of the measures voted on this year in Oregon had been before the legislature on earlier occasions.

POPULAR VOTE ON INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM MEASURES
OREGON ELECTION

Showing Question, How Originated, Vote Thereon, Majority, and the Per Cent. of the Total Vote which was Cast on Each Measure..

Total Vote for Governor 117,690. Election Nov. 8, 1910.

Measures marked "I" were placed on ballot by Initiative petition: "R," act of legislature Referred by petition; "L," Referred to people by the legislative assembly. Average vote on all measures was 71 per cent.

THE QUESTION	Origin.	Yes.	No.	Per Cent. Voting.	Majority.	Result.
<i>Liquor Issue.</i>						
Prohibition amendment	I.	43,540	61,221	89	17,681	Rejected
Prohibitory bill	I.	42,651	63,564	90	20,913	Rejected
Home Rule bill for municipalities	I.	53,321	50,779	88	2,542	Adopted
<i>Taxation.</i>						
Amendment repealing Uniform system	L.	37,619	40,172	66	2,553	Rejected
Amendment for Classified System	L.	31,629	41,692	62	10,063	Rejected
Amendment for County Local Option System of Taxation	I.	44,171	42,127	73	2,044	Adopted
<i>Labor.</i>						
Employer's liability Bill	I.	56,258	33,943	77	22,315	Adopted
For a Liability Commission	I.	32,224	51,719	71	19,495	Rejected
<i>Education.</i>						
Appropriation for Monmouth Normal	I.	50,191	40,044	77	10,147	Adopted
Appropriation for Weston Normal	I.	40,898	46,201	74	5,303	Rejected
Appropriation for Ashland Normal	I.	38,473	48,665	74	10,182	Rejected
<i>County Divisions.</i>						
Bills creating eight new counties. Vote on each about same, average	I.	16,747	61,227	66	43,357	All Rejected
Woman's Suffrage Amendment	I.	35,270	59,065	80	23,795	Rejected
New Insane Asylum for East Oregon	L.	50,134	41,504	77	8,630	Adopted
Bill for Constitutional Convention	L.	23,143	59,974	71	36,831	Rejected
Separate Legislative Districts	L.	34,000	54,252	75	20,525	Rejected
Amendment permitting State to build railroads	L.	32,844	46,070	67	13,226	Rejected
Bill increasing salary of Judge	R.	13,161	71,503	72	58,342	Rejected
Rogue River Fish Bill	I.	49,712	33,397	71	16,315	Adopted
Bill regulating creation new Counties	I.	37,129	42,327	67	5,198	Rejected
Good Roads Amendment	I.	51,275	32,906	72	18,368	Adopted
Presidential Primary Bill	I.	43,353	41,624	72	1,729	Adopted
Proportional Representation Amendment	I.	37,031	44,366	69	7,335	Rejected
Judiciary reform, three-fourths jury verdict in civil cases	I.	44,538	39,399	71	5,139	Adopted
State Official Gazette	I.	29,955	52,538	70	22,583	Rejected

—From "EQUITY," January, 1911.

be taken. He stated further, however, that in California a plan has been adopted which seems to meet this objection. A petition of 5 per cent of the voters can submit a proposition to the legislature in the manner suggested by Mr. Robins, but if the petition carries the names of 8 per cent of the voters, the proposition can be submitted to the people without previous consideration by the legislature. In that way, if an emer-

Asked as to the practicability of a compulsory referendum in Illinois, Mr. King said that the compulsory referendum is not practicable in the United States at this time. The optional, or—to use the Swiss expression—the "facultative" referendum is what is most needed at this time. The compulsory referendum is more nearly adapted to small cities or country districts where the questions are not numerous, and par-

ticularly in old settled communities where most of the legislation is of long standing. Half of the Swiss cantons have the compulsory referendum and the other half the optional referendum.

Oregon's Commercial Prosperity

Replying to a question as to the stability of investments in Oregon under a system where "the whims of the people are paramount," Mr. King said that the people of Oregon are quite proud of the commercial and industrial achievements of the state during the past five or six years. The population of Portland has doubled in that period, and the banks are in splendid condition. "It is all nonsense," he said, "to say that the initiative and referendum are injurious to the commercial growth of the state."

Mr. Louis F. Post had the following to say on intelligence in voting: "What amazes me most in the objections to direct legislation is the suggestion that the non-voters on these questions should count against the question. I am amazed further by the fact that these objections come from a class of people who have been standing out vigorously for years for an intelligent ballot. They want some test of the voter's intelligence, and

they generally propose a test such as that he shall be able to spell better than some of the people who have been better educated. I have noticed that they usually draw the line where it will let them in and keep their inferiors out.

An Automatic Educational Test

"Now here is an educational test that works automatically. Every one is allowed to vote. Any one who thinks he is not intelligent enough to vote on a given question does not vote. He thereby disfranchises himself. This seems to me to be the most desirable of all proposed tests for intelligence in voting, but the very class of people who advocate a test whereby A disfranchises B are unfriendly to this method whereby B disfranchises himself."

Mr. King, in support of Mr. Post's suggestion, stated, as the observation of Judge McBride of the Oregon Supreme Court, who was at one time on a commission to inquire into a disputed election in Portland and was therefore in possession of specific data on the subject, that the lightest vote on measures submitted under the initiative and referendum was cast in the slum regions and foreign districts of Portland.

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AMERICAN DIPLOMACY IN PANAMA AND THE CENTRAL AMERICAN STATES

On Saturday, the 11th instant, Judge Lorin C. Collins, for five and one-half years a Justice of the Supreme Court of the Panama Canal Zone, addressed the City Club on the subject of "American Diplomacy in Panama and the Central American States." His remarks were a criticism of the aggressive policy of this country in dealing with the political affairs of the Central American states. He stated that, as a result of this aggressiveness, the Americans are losing the confidence of the Central Americans, and that without some change of policy there is danger that the trade of these republics will go, not to the United States, but to its competitors. The chairman of the meeting was Mr. E. L. Lobdell of the City Club Committee on Harbors, Wharves and Waterways.

Judge Collins spoke as follows:

Lorin C. Collins

"A nation, before engaging in any great and important undertaking of the nature of building an interoceanic canal, should first determine the present and future need thereof, what the cost would be and the probable benefits to be derived therefrom. The United States required the Panama Canal at the time its building was decided on, for her growth, expansion and development; the country needs it now, and the rest of the world is interested and concerned in its completion and success. A people, however, should not be too altruistic, and we may with propriety and anxiety ask the question whether we will reap the just harvest of our labor and capital.

"For many years prior to 1904, when the Panama Canal became with us a national undertaking, varying views

were held as to which route was preferable, the Nicaraguan or Panamanian. The Spooner Act—so-called—which became a law in 1902, gave the preference to the Panamanian route, with instructions to the President of the United States to open negotiations with Colombia therefor and, should he fail to obtain a satisfactory arrangement with Colombia, to secure one, if possible, from Nicaragua.

Panama Declares Independence

"After most tedious and vexatious negotiations, the Congress of Colombia rejected the treaty offered by the United States. This happened in August, 1903, but taking the adjournment of the Colombian Congress as the termination of endeavor on the part of the two republics to reach an agreement, the date would be October 31, 1903. Immediately upon the adjournment of the Congress of Colombia, the rumors of the secession of the Department of Panama which had been current seemed to grow with astonishing rapidity, and on November 3, 1903, Panama declared its independence of Colombia and the reins of government were wrested from the Colombian authorities.

"On November 6, 1903, President Roosevelt recognized the independence of Panama, and shortly thereafter war vessels and marines sailed into the harbors of Colon and Panama to protect the citizens of the United States and prevent by force, if necessary, any interference with the operations of the Panama Railroad, a corporation organized under the laws of the state of New York and running between Colon and Panama. It should be understood that the railroad was the only practicable route between the two seaboard cities and the settle-

ments intermediate. There was not a wagon road or a good trail to follow, and the jungle for miles brushed against the right of way and threatened to bury it under its tropical and wanton exuberance of growth.

"On the morning of the third of November there arrived in the harbor of Colon a vessel carrying from 400 to 500 Colombian troops. The troops landed and Generals Tobar and Amaya and several other of the Colombian officers proceeded to Panama to make arrangements for the accommodation of their troops. On the day of their arrival, Panama having declared its independence, they were arrested and held in confinement.

American Citizens Threatened

"The U. S. S. Nashville was at that time in the port of Colon. On the morning of the 4th, Hubbard, the commander, was informed by American Consul Malmros that General Torres, in command of the Colombian troops in Colon, had notified him that if Generals Tobar and Amaya and the other Colombian officers who were in confinement at Panama were not released by two o'clock he would kill every citizen of the United States in the city. Commander Hubbard, aided by American Consul Malmros, Colonel Shaler, general superintendent of the Panama Railroad, and others, moved our women and children aboard of two ships which were lying at the docks, ready to put to sea at a moment's notice. Forty-two marines and arms from the Nashville were landed and the stone freight house of the railroad company was fortified and held by the marines and the citizens of the United States. The Colombians surrounded the shed so occupied and for some hours there was no assurance as to the outcome.

"Commander Hubbard had issued instructions to his officers and men that under no circumstances were they to fire the first shot or commit the first aggression. This wise policy saved bloodshed, as the Colombians, on their side, adopted the same course. After some hours of nervous strain, particularly to the besieged, as they were outnumbered ten to one, the attacking force withdrew. Commander Hubbard was instructed to prevent the landing of Co-

lombian troops at Colon, Porto Bello and other points, and the transportation of the same in either direction across the Isthmus. In a few days the Colombian troops departed from the Isthmus, and the young republic in peace and quietude undertook the formation of her government and the living of her life.

"How was the secession of Panama taken in the United States of Colombia? On the 7th of November, she cabled to the President of Mexico, asking him to use his influence with the United States to preserve the integrity of Colombia, and also to ask the aid of all countries represented at the Pan-American conference. On the same day Colombia requested the United States to allow the Colombian government to land troops at Colon and Panama to fight there and on the line of the Panama Railroad. She also asked if the United States would take action to maintain Colombia's right and sovereignty on the Isthmus in accordance with Article 35 of the Treaty of 1846 in case the government should be entirely unable to suppress the secession movement there. These requests were denied by John Hay, Secretary of State, as on the 6th the United States had recognized the Republic of Panama.

Colombia Protests Recognition

"On the 14th of November the Colombian government made formal protest against the immediate recognition by the United States of the Republic of Panama, on the ground that such recognition was a violation of the Treaty of 1846. Colombia offered to submit the matter to The Hague. Three days later the United States received from Colombia the following:

As the government of the United States does not definitely state that it will oppose the landing of Colombian troops, but will secure hearing for General Reyes, it may be supposed that its purpose is to bring about peace in Colombia and Panama to the end that the latter shall renounce independence and thus avoid armed action, otherwise inevitable.

If this is the intention of the United States, Colombia will accept, provided territorial rights of Colombia on the Isthmus are not prejudiced.

Maintenance of order falls to the power holding sovereignty which the United States has heretofore recognized. Accordingly it is an inadmissible theory that the United States should now permit or aid

dismemberment of Colombia merely to prevent temporary disturbance of transit. Colombia has for fifty years maintained free transit, but she cannot be asked to carry this to the extent of agreeing to the loss of precious territory simply from fear some interruption of transit may occur.

Sovereignty of nations may not be destroyed for the purpose of avoiding transitory prejudice to commerce, and civilization will suffer more by the violation of a public treaty than from a temporary interruption of traffic.

The most efficient means the United States could employ to prevent interruption of transit would be to notify the rebels to abstain from obstructing the Colombian government in re-establishing order and constitutional rule. This is demanded of the United States by treaty.

"The United States, on the next day, having already entered into a convention for a treaty granting the rights and privileges now enjoyed by it, declined to give further consideration to the matter. It should be said that the United States, in 1865, being called on to suppress an insurrection in Colombia, informed her that the clause of the treaty to which she referred related to foreign invasion, and not to domestic troubles.

Animosity Against United States

"These matters and things, part of our national life and history, are set out at some length in order that the subsequent actions, feelings and thoughts of another nation may be more properly and justly weighed and understood. There is no intention here to criticize the action of the United States but only to present in a clear and intelligible way an existing condition which this talk—it is hoped—may help to reveal and help to remove. Were we Colombians we would doubtless have their view of the causes which brought about the dismemberment of their country, and would probably do as they did and are doing—and *talk*. They talked in Spanish to those who were Spanish; they found sympathetic listeners in the German and English traders. The consuls of foreign countries at Bogota and Panama gave their own versions to their own governments of the occurrences which had taken place and doubtless received confidential instructions in return. Wherever the Colombian traveled—and he traveled much—he poured into the ears of his race the story of Colombia's alleged wrong.

"As against a strong and alien people, speaking a different tongue, with other habits of life and a dominant and masterful manner, the alienation of the Spanish-speaking people was easily begun and profound distrust created of the United States and its intentions in Central America, and in all countries within the zone of the Monroe doctrine. The Spanish-speaking people are usually extremely courteous and polite in their outward manner, and the directness and sometimes brusqueness of the Anglo-Saxon is to them displeasing.

"As should be the case, the United States and its citizens were received with open arms by the Panamanians. But it was not long before they discovered that their new friends asserted an intellectual and social superiority. A spirit of condescension seemed to diffuse itself in the social and business atmosphere, and, while the Panamanians were well pleased with their success and free of any desire to go back into their old relations if they could, they were inclined to throw on the United States the responsibility for the secession and, in Spanish, joined in criticism of their benefactor. Among those of their own tongue, passing through this great Isthmian highway, the failings and virtues of Americans would be freely discussed. This condition was particularly marked during and after the Obaldia election.

Political Interference in Panama

"Some one in the United States, as well as a strong party in Panama, desired the election of Obaldia as President. He was Governor of Panama at the time of the secession and took no steps to put down the revolt. Señor Obaldia was sent as the first minister to Washington and was a man of able and pleasing personality. Opposed to him was Señor Arias, with the support of the conservative element in Panama. Arias also was a man of high character and ability, and his friends were in the control of the government.

"Whether there would have been a fair election had the United States not intervened is pure speculation; but the force in the United States desiring Obaldia sent—or managed to have sent—to the Isthmus a large force of marines. In the roadsteads could be seen

the naval vessels of the United States. The Republic of Panama was compelled to put in all voting booths citizens of the United States to report on any unfairness or violence. No disturbance had occurred, and none was threatened; but within a few minutes' march of the cities of Panama and Colon—although still within the Canal Zone—were garri- sons ready to take either city and establish martial law whenever the word should be spoken. Señor Arias, in a paper worthy of a patriot, renounced his candidacy and left Señor Obaldia the field.

"To have then withdrawn the United States forces would have looked too much like admitting that coercion had been used—when, of course, none was intended—and so, to further impress the great desire of the United States for a free and untrammelled election, the opera bouffe war continued under the direction of the man who inspired the invasion. Panama and Colon looked like beleaguered cities, and the effect on the Spanish mind was to start, with new fury, the discussion as to the character, the intentions and the sincerity of the United States. The voters, disappointed and humiliated by the outcome of Arias' candidacy, were added to those who—on account of sympathy with Colombia—entertained distrust, dislike and bitter hatred of the United States. Foreign commercial interests made the most of the opportunity and quietly and discreetly encouraged the growing sentiment.

United States Loses Good Will of Central Americans

"These events took place in 1908. In the five years our Isthmian project had prospered and marvelously advanced, but our hold on the good will and respect of the Spanish-speaking people had been correspondingly loosened.

"In 1909, as is generally the case, a revolution was in progress in a Central American republic. This time Nicaragua was the battle-ground, and General Estrada was seeking to overthrow the administration of Zelaya. Two Americans, Cannon and Grace, who were enlisted in Estrada's army, were unfortunate enough to be captured by the administration forces. They were

tried summarily by a drum-head court-martial, found guilty, and by Zelaya's orders taken out and shot. They should have been accorded the rights of belligerents, and had they been of any other citizenship would have been accorded such rights. But Spanish hatred determined their fate. This atrocity occurred on November 21. On December 1 the United States handed to the Nicaraguan minister his passport and terminated all diplomatic relations between the two countries.

"Zelaya shortly thereafter resigned and caused one of his followers, Señor Madriz, to be elected as his successor. Madriz busily engaged himself in putting down the rebellion, and would have done so had the United States not forbidden him to capture Bluefields, where Estrada was entrenched. Desultory fighting continued for months, with the United States keeping guard over the contestants. Business languished and died, and the expenditure in treasure and life was large.

Relations with Nicaragua

"The 'Venus,' which was loaded with arms and ammunition for the revolutionists, escaped from New Orleans, sailed into the harbor of Bluefields with a guard of United States marines on her deck and flying the American flag. She brought to Estrada the supplies he needed. Estrada's forces were thus enabled to capture Managua, the capital, and the Madriz government and army surrendered and dispersed. General Estrada was declared President on August 12, 1910, and made a manifesto of his intentions, one of which was to call an election for President. This has not yet been done, and it is said that the United States has extended the time two years in which such election may be held. The Spanish say that the reason of this is that, while the people were willing to rid themselves of Zelaya's party, they were not willing to take unto themselves Estrada, and that the latter realized that, should he have permitted an election with the United States to oversee it and prevent fraud, he could not have been chosen. He hopes in two years' time to be able to win the people over or secure his election despite them. So until the expiration of that period the

United States will exercise a protectorate over this provisional government and its war vessels will be off the coasts of Nicaragua.

"Irrespective of whether this policy is wise, there is before these countries the constant menace of armed force interfering with, controlling and dictating the internal affairs of their republics. At least this is the growing Central American feeling. They ask why, under the Monroe doctrine, should the United States always find it necessary to select rulers for these independent republics instead of allowing the people to do so themselves. They further say that the revolution against Zelaya had its birth with American interests at and near Bluefields, and that the United States had not hitherto been concerned over the killing of Americans in Central America and had not interfered when they were ruthlessly despoiled of their property.

United States and Costa Rica

"Here are two civilizations differing in race, education and in conception of governmental methods and ends. They do not understand each other, and neither may be to blame. But, as force is their weapon, they gauge our purpose by its constant use. It can be truthfully said that Costa Rica has enjoyed as stable, progressive and enlightened government as any of the Central American republics. On the 4th of July last, the American minister at San Jose gave the usual and customary reception to the diplomatic corps, government officials and distinguished people; but had it not been for the activity of the police of San Jose the legation that night would have been stoned. The relations between the United States and Costa Rica have been most amicable and such a desire would have been generated only by animosity subtly instilled. Who instilled it, and why?

"It was said on the Isthmus that our minister at Bogota for weeks dared not leave the legation, and that the legation was damaged by attacks from mobs. As no action was taken by our government, the boast was openly and widely made that we were afraid of Colombia and dare not complain. This incident, if true—and it is well vouched for—

should cause us to seriously ask if we are handling ourselves well with these people.

"The President of Honduras recently requested the general commanding the Honduran garrison at Ampala to give to the American minister on his arrival at the port the salute to which his rank entitled him. His reply was that he would not salute any American 'dog.' He then brutally insulted the President of the United States in words and by comparison too low and coarse for repetition. This doughty warrior so terrified the foreign residents of Amapala that the women and children lived and slept in warehouses fortified by cotton bales in hourly fear of massacre and were only relieved when Captain Hayes of the U. S. S. Princeton forced an interview with the general and threatened to blow his fort down over his head unless he behaved himself. He was then forced into humanity and decency. This general was acting on his own initiative, and Honduras should probably not be blamed for his acts, as he was then in almost open rebellion against the administration. But the Spanish comment is that the United States overlooked the insult, as Morgan & Co. were arranging to refund the national debt of Honduras and any action the United States might take would interfere therewith.

Americans Stoned in Mexico

"The American legation was stoned in the City of Mexico last year, the alleged reason for the act being the burning at the stake of a Mexican in Texas. Would this have happened ten years ago? No! But the heaven has been working wherever the Spanish language is spoken. Do not all the insults heaped upon our government by these different republics drive us to the conclusion that there is a steady and malign influence working against the United States all through the Spanish-speaking countries? We may say we do not care, nor do we seem to care today; but the future is where republics should store their treasure against the day of need.

"The most deplorable action of the United States, that has given color to gossip and criticism against us, occurred last summer in Panama. On the death

of President Obaldia, Dr. Mendoza, being the first designate, became acting President of the republic. Under its constitution, he would serve up to the time of the meeting of the Congress in September, when the Congress would elect some one to perform the duties of President for the ensuing two years. The United States informed Dr. Mendoza that he was ineligible, and that, should he be elected, they would not permit him to fill the office, as he would not be a constitutional President, the reason for this statement being that the constitution of Panama prohibited any person from succeeding himself in that office. Panamanian and other lawyers held divergent opinions on this question. Only those opposed to Mendoza took the view of Washington. The question turned on the President succeeding himself. As Mendoza had been acting President it was claimed he was not eligible for re-election.

"Mendoza's party contended that he never had been President; that the constitution did not provide for the election of a President; that, being first designate, the duties, powers and responsibilities of the President were imposed on him up to the time when Congress should select his successor; that all Congress could do was to select a man to perform the duties pertaining to the Presidential office until the regular election should occur, when the people would choose their magistrate. It should be said that Mendoza never occupied the Presidential palace and never signed his name as President. Whether Mendoza was the man for President was eliminated from consideration, and he withdrew as a candidate. This action created bad feeling, as he was supported by what appeared to be a majority of the people and was said to have the majority in the Congress.

"The next move of Washington was to inform the Congressmen that they should elect Mr. Samuel Lewis as President. There were others that the Congress preferred to elect, but the pressure was so strong from Washington that one day at 1:30 in the morning it was agreed that at that day's session Lewis should be elected. At ten o'clock a cable came from Beverly, Mass., disclaiming any intention on the part of the United States to annex Panama or to dictate to the Congress whom they should choose. The Lewis campaign ended then and there, and after deliberation Dr. Pablo Arosemena was elected to perform the Presidential functions.

"All of this unwise and meddlesome interference in the domestic affairs of a weak republic took place at the time of the Pan-American conference at Buenos Aires. Whether or not it was the result of intimations from there that the pressure was released from Panama is not known; but the interference of the United States was the subject of most caustic comment. We came out of this badly in every way. Had we persisted, we would have had, in a few hours at least, the prestige of success—which, of course, counts for something in this world. Now we have the reputation—just as we have in Nicaragua—of raising our arm to strike and not having the courage to give the blow.

"We are building a canal and plumbing ourselves on our wonderful undertaking. Are we building for peace or for war, for the world's development or for future aggression? If for peace, for the development of the Central and South Americas, the trade—unless we change our methods—will not be ours, but will go to our competitors." (Applause.)

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PENDING STATE CIVIL SERVICE LEGISLATION

The comprehensive State Civil Service Bill, demanded by the voters at the November election and now pending before the General Assembly, was discussed at a meeting of the City Club on Monday, March 27th. The immediate object of the meeting was to secure publicity on the civil service situation at Springfield, particularly in view of the fact the various civil service bills—including the state bill—had been made a special order in House for Wednesday, March 29. The nature of the opposition to the bill and the reasons for that opposition were discussed by the various speakers. The principal danger was stated to be that the bill would be loaded down with amendments, exempting important state offices from its operation and thereby practically destroying its value.

The speakers were: Hon. H. S. Magill, Jr., of Princeton, Republican, and chairman of the Senate Committee on Civil Service, which has reported favorably on a bill similar to that now pending before the House, Hon. John M. Rapp, of Fairfield, Democrat and member of the House Committee on Civil Service, which has endorsed the pending House bill; Francis X. Busch, formerly attorney for the Chicago Civil Service Commission, and William Rothman, formerly Assistant Corporation Counsel.

Dr. Henry B. Favill, who presided, read a letter from Mr. George W. Alschuler, leader of the minority in the House of Representatives, favoring the proposed legislation. A part of this letter follows:

"I believe in Civil Service Reform—the real article; not the sham and counterfeit and hypocrisy with which the public has had altogether too much experience. I would include every branch of the National Government and every department of the State Government and

not only Cook county, but every county and municipality in the state large enough to make it practicable; also the Park Boards, Drainage Districts, Assessor's Office, Board of Review and Public Employment generally.

"The passage of adequate laws to bring this about and their honest enforcement means much to the people, and I hope the time is not far off when this may be brought about.

"I do not expect to vote for any amendment making material exemptions from the most comprehensive Civil Service measures it is possible to secure."

Francis X. Busch

"We are met here today because on Wednesday next there will come before the lower house of our State Legislature the consideration of the bills providing for an adequate and comprehensive civil service in the state—and this means substantially all the employes in all of the different state departments and institutions—in Cook county, the three park systems, the Municipal Court and the Sanitary District. These separate bills have all been favorably reported out of committee and are now on second reading in the House.

"We are all agreed, of course, that on merit alone these bills should pass. There is at Springfield, however, a formidable opposition to these or any other comprehensive and adequate civil service measures. A very small part of this opposition may be sincere. Some of our opponents use the argument that we have long been familiar with that they are in favor of civil service, in fact, they love civil service, *but*—this particular bill is not what they want, and by a peculiarity of coincidences the particular civil service bill they are looking for is always yet to be drawn.

"It seems, however, that from a political standpoint, using that term in a wider sense, the people are entitled to the passage of all of these bills, without the threatened emasculatory amendments: at least, the people are entitled to state-wide, adequate, comprehensive real civil service legislation.

Parties Pledged to Merit System

"Of course, the ordinary platform declarations of political parties are conclusively presumed to have been barred by limitation and rendered incapable of performance immediately after election, but a consideration of the most recent platforms of the two great parties in this state on necessary merit legislation is important in connection with other unmistakable indications of the public insistence upon comprehensive merit law extension and reform.

"The civil service 'plank' of the most recent Republican State Convention is as follows:

We favor a comprehensive state-wide civil service law.

"The Democratic platform in this regard contains the following:

As a means of eradicating the spoils system and promoting purity, honesty and efficiency in the public service we favor a properly regulated and efficient civil service system.

"Even these unequivocal declarations were deemed insufficient, and through the disinterested efforts of a number of true champions of merit law extension a general state-wide referendum was had, and the following proposition placed upon the 'little ballot':

Shall the next General Assembly extend the merit system by the enactment of a comprehensive and adequate state civil service law, thus promoting efficiency and economy?

"The state vote on that question was: *Yes*, 411,676; *No*, 121,132.

"Every Senatorial and Congressional District in the state voted an affirmative majority on that referendum.

"Every county in the State of Illinois, except Monroe county, voted in favor of state-wide adequate and comprehensive civil service. In Cook county there was a majority in favor of that proposition of upwards of 110,000 votes.

What is a "Comprehensive" Law?

"Now, the opposition at Springfield is asking the question: Did the people know what they were voting on? Did they understand that 'comprehensive'

and 'adequate' and 'state-wide' civil service meant all the jobs in all the state departments, the office of the Secretary of State, of Attorney General, State Auditor, Superintendent of Public Instruction, and all the charitable and penal institutions within the borders of Illinois? The reactionary opposition at the State House answers 'No; the people meant that "state-wide" and "comprehensive" civil service should exclude the jobs of every department except the Joliet penitentiary and the reformatories at Chester and Pontiac, and at these, of course, Superintendents, Assistant Superintendents, Wardens, Deputy Wardens, and their confidential secretaries and assistants should be exempt.'

"But the people did know what they were voting on. This was not a referendum as to an untried scheme of political administration. The people of Cook county have ordered the workings of an adequate and comprehensive civil service law covering the City of Chicago through sixteen years with the usual upheavals incident to changing administrations. The people of this state are familiar with the twenty-seven years of history of a comprehensive and adequate natural civil service law. That venerable political axiom of the representative understanding better than the voter what the voter wants and needs is not applicable in this situation.

Legislators Bound by Pledges

"But if more were needed the legislators individually are committed on this question. The Civil Service Reform Association and the Chicago Civil Service League hold the signed written declarations of 56 per cent of the Democratic representation in the House of their unequivocal sympathy and the promise of their unqualified support to state-wide adequate and comprehensive civil service legislation, with particular and specific reference to the entire payroll in Cook County and the State of Illinois.

"These bills were reported out of the committee last week with the recommendation that they do pass. They were at the head of the calendar for Wednesday, March 22, and in the judgment of the leaders of the House there was an undoubted majority for these bills.

"Now, men upon the ground, watching every move made, whether for or against the interests of clean and decent

government generally, and for the merit bills in particular, have faithfully reported their findings, and I believe we are justified and entitled to know and to publish, if we can, the men who are with us and carrying out the declared mandate of the people and the reactionaries—the term is too mild—who are opposing it with all the devious ways and methods known to political chicanery. These bills would undoubtedly have passed the House had they been put upon their passage last Wednesday. It was through the efforts and influence principally of Louis J. Pierson, Edward Shurtleff and Lee O'Neil Browne that the speaker was induced to drop these bills from their position at the head of the calendar to the thirty-third position on the following day, and under a rule of the House the speaker adhered to this view despite the vigorous protests of Representatives Hale, Hamilton, Mitchell, Pervier, Alschuler, English and Rapp, conspicuous leaders among many other able representatives in trying to free the state and county institutions from the curse of spoils politics.

State Officers Oppose the Bill

"This change in the order meant that the bills would not be heard until a later date. The speaker, in an effort to be fair and please both sides, did, however, promise that all the civil service bills reported out should have the right of way next Wednesday. But this week's postponement has its significance. In this week all of the power of Secretary of State James A. Rose, Attorney-General Stead, Auditor McCullough and Superintendent of Public Instruction Blair is being directed toward picking off the members one at a time who are in favor of these bills. We all know in a general way that the reason for the activity of these state office holders against this necessary remedial legislation is their threatened deprivation of party patronage, and consequent loss in political influence. But I doubt if we are at all intimately familiar with the extent of this influence. Particularly because of the especially noticeable and agitated activity of Secretary Rose, and because, numerically, his office is the most important state office, I want to direct specific attention to this officer and his office. Secretary Rose's patronage list

includes all the positions on the legislative payroll, the care of the state capitol and Supreme Court buildings and the fairly amazing list of employes in the office of the Secretary of State. Mr. Rose is, moreover, the principal commissioner for state contracts. All of these jobholders have been directed and, if Secretary Rose's influence is effective, are now using every artifice known to the spoils politician to 'pick off' a sufficient number of representatives to destroy the present majority in favor of the legislation.

"To give you an idea of the extent of this vast patronage of Secretary Rose's office, I want to refer to the report of one of the committees of this club, showing that Mr. Rose, in the year ending May 31, 1909, spent \$102,000 for wages for the care of the state capitol building. Put that against the \$19,000 spent by the State of Indiana for the same purpose or the \$27,000 spent by the State of Iowa or the \$16,000 spent by the State of Ohio and you will have some idea of the relation between civil service and economy.

Friends of Civil Service put on Guard

"The foregoing is only a partial and very cursory analysis of Secretary Rose's interest in lending all of his power and influence against this pending civil service legislation. It is sufficient to demonstrate the necessity of alertness on the part of the friends of merit law extension if these good civil service bills are to be saved to the people.

"Now, what can we do? The moral effect of such a meeting as this at the City Club is in itself a great deal. Collectively, there is right here enough of influence and power, if immediately and properly directed, to insure the passage of these bills. You can—and each of you should—write every state representative you know that you expect him to regard the demand of the people of this state for comprehensive and adequate state-wide civil service. Particularly should each one write a letter to his own representative urging him, if he is in favor of this progressive legislation, to remain firm and loyal in his faith, and to assure him that he is appreciated and remembered. If he is against the legislation, to influence him if you can, but at least to assure him that he, too,

is remembered, but for a different reason." (Applause.)

Hon. H. S. Magill, Jr.

"The question before us now in the General Assembly of this state is the enacting of a state-wide, comprehensive civil service law. The difficulty in securing this legislation arises in the determination of what will constitute a real, comprehensive, state-wide law.

"There are, under the present civil service law, as you know, approximately 2,500 employes in the state, in the charitable institutions. There are out from under civil service about as many more. A state-wide law, then, would put under the civil service law of the state the entire force of the state, which would approximate about 5,000 employes.

"The civil service pledges of the different parties in their platforms have been referred to by Mr. Busch. The people of the state are really in favor of this legislation; the people up and down the state are determined that the employes of the state shall receive their appointments hereafter on the basis of their efficiency, rather than on the basis of some political influence that they have been able to exert. That has been asserted so definitely that I believe no one could gainsay it.

"There is no doubt in my mind now, as there was no doubt in my mind last fall as I canvassed the district that I represent, that the good people of the district were strongly of the opinion that the interests of the State of Illinois could only be conserved by the putting into operation of an honest, adequate, state-wide civil service law.

"For that I myself have stood. But when the problem arises of enacting this sentiment into law you will find a great many difficulties in your way. There are men who have stood upon the platform and pronounced themselves boldly as in favor of state-wide civil service who, when discussing this matter behind the doors of a committee room, will take it up on a different line, and will insist that it can be adequate and state-wide and still exclude from the operation of the law very many employes. The employes whom any particular man may want to exclude will be those in whom he is especially interested, and so if we should listen to all the suggestions

as to the exemptions that should be made in any real, successful law, we would not have very much of a law when we got through.

Proposed Exemptions in Office of Attorney-General

"It has been very strongly urged in the Senate committee that the Assistant Attorneys-General should be exempt. There are only half a dozen or so of those men, and the lawyers of the committee have insisted that the Attorney-General of the state, being responsible for the prosecution of those cases which are inaugurated in the name of the state, should be free to select his assistants, who should, therefore, be in no way amenable to the state civil service law. So strongly has that been urged that a majority of the committee have committed themselves in favor of these exemptions.

"It has been urged upon us that the elective officers of the state and the employes under them should be exempt; that, even if they were exempt, our law would still be comprehensive and adequate. We hold to the idea that such a law would not be comprehensive and adequate. I, for one, do not believe that we will be keeping faith with the people, that we will be acting squarely in this matter, if we do not insist that the employes in these state offices, with possibly a few exceptions, shall be placed under the operation of this law.

"I know the arguments pro and con; I have been listening to them for some months. It is argued that the private secretary of a state officer, his private stenographer or his head clerk, should be one of his own selection, that the confidential relationship existing between that state officer and this immediate associate is such that the latter ought not to be under any law outside of the will of the appointing officer.

"But if that were granted—and the committee of the Senate seems to favor such an exemption—the argument would not apply to all of the various other employes of these state officers.

"We are also implored along the other lines. In all the departments you will find men who are perfectly willing that a state-wide, comprehensive civil service law should apply to all the other offices of the state; but they want you to believe that their office, for peculiar

reasons, should be excepted. And if you would listen to all of them, the whole system must necessarily break down.

Official Responsibility not Weakened

"Now, the arguments made against the law are generally made without any consideration of the exemptions there, or without a consideration of the real operation of the law. One of the main objections made is that a state officer, being held responsible for the operation and the carrying into effect of the responsibilities laid upon him, should not have to appeal to a civil service commission to get employes in his office. For instance, it is said of the State Treasurer that he is responsible for the proper care of the funds of the state, and that he should be entirely free to select the men that he wishes to take care of those funds. Now, under the operation of any sensible civil service law such as has been written and proposed, there is no excuse such as that that will really hold. Any man that is not trustworthy, any man that is at all derelict in his duty, any man that is at all unqualified, can be immediately suspended or removed.

"On the other hand, the state officer would not be importuned to make places for somebody who desires the office or appointment because of his political influence or his political prestige. We find that ample provision is made in the law whereby a state officer may maintain his dignity, and may maintain his office as he would have it maintained and execute the duties that are devolvent upon him, while operating under the general terms of a state civil service law.

"A very urgent argument made against the law is that it removes the incentive to politics, that it leaves no incentive to the young man to get out and work, if there is no substantial recognition of his services. That argument was put up to me very strongly the other day by a man of the old school. He said: 'Mr. Magill, if you insist on this state-wide civil service, my prediction is that all of the able young men of the state will drop out of politics, because there is no incentive left.' Such an argument as that, of course, would hardly be considered seriously by any really intelligent man.

Efficiency—not Jobs

"It seems to me the State of Illinois has come to the place where the people

should demand of their representatives a true representation of the people of the state in the passing of the laws that should be enacted, in guarding the interests of the state as they should be guarded, and that the real worth of a representative in the legislature should be measured not by the number of appointments he can get, not by the number of men he can get in positions, but by the real constructive legislation which he can place upon the statute books.

"Gentlemen, we are coming to the place where we must realize that we have got to place patriotism on a higher basis. The patriots of this country whom we delight to honor have not been those who have gone out to fight for their country because they desired the \$13 a month pay they could secure, but those who went forth and gave themselves to their country for higher, nobler, loftier purposes than that. If 'peace hath her victories no less renowned than war,' if we are to have patriots today who shall stand for the honor, integrity and progress of our country, they must be men who do not go into politics for the spoils, for the patronage they can get, but who offer themselves because of a desire to be of real service to the state. That can be brought about only when this matter of patronage is controlled by a civil service law; when the measure of a man's value to the state shall be the extent of his efficiency. When that has been accomplished, the purifying of the politics of this state will be accomplished, more, I think, than in any other way.

"I hold in my hand the bill that has been reported out of the Senate committee, and is now in my hands as chairman, and will soon be presented to the Senate. This bill stands for a state-wide, comprehensive civil service law. We will stand for the provisions of this bill to the best of our ability. If that law is emasculated and broken down, it will be done by the enemies of civil service and not by its friends. We will not yield the principle; we will simply put it up to the Senate and make its enemies in the Senate (if there be such) come out in the open and show their hand. Any amendment that would vitiate or destroy the provisions of this bill must be made in the open by the enemies of the civil service law. We are committed to an honest, comprehensive, state-wide civil service law." (Applause.)

Hon. John M. Rapp

"The people of Illinois, irrespective of politics, have always desired and expected from their public servants efficiency, honesty and a full day's work for a full day's wage. It is only quite recently that it has dawned on the public mind and conscience with the full force of comprehension that these requisites of efficiency, honesty and industry could not be secured with any degree of continuing certainty under the old system and theory that 'to the victor belongs the spoils.'

"That it has taken full possession of the public mind—not the mind of the politician, but that of the taxpayer and voter—is demonstrated by the vote on the proposition in favor of a 'comprehensive' system of civil service for the state.

"As has been said, the desirable end to be attained in the public service is *efficiency*. It has not been entirely impossible to attain this under the old system before the days of civil service, for many of the men who have been elected to public office have been persons with a high regard for the faithful discharge of their duties, and they have secured faithful and efficient service from their employes; but there has been no stability about such service, for the successor was apt to be a man of different ideas, and in the turn of the political wheel of fortune and the turmoil of political success the public service would be demoralized by the constant changes of men and measures.

"No man is more than mortal and, so long as the law permits him to do a thing, the strain of the requests for the appointment of the unfit, in payment of political debts, is more than the backbone of the average office holder can withstand.

Civil Service as an Incentive

"The first requirement, then, for an effective service, is to make all selections from a list of eligibles, who by non-partisan examination, have shown evidence that they will be efficient and faithful in the duties that they are selected to perform. After the selection is made from a merit standpoint and the front door opened only to such as have given evidence that they are worthy, there should be a policy of re-

wards for faithful service and promotion for efficiency. If the best service is to be secured, no one should be permitted to feel that the future has nothing better in store for him than the present.

"The door of exit should not be so completely walled up or its bolts and bars so locked and the key thrown away as to promote or encourage insubordination or lack of discipline. Respect for constituted authority and perfect discipline is essential for the government of every institution and department, and separation from the service should follow swiftly any continued acts of insubordination or evidences of inefficiency.

"On the other hand, the 'back door' should not be left so wide open as to result in injustice to those who have had to meet requirements of efficiency before they could enter the front way. Discharge 'for the good of the service' without a possible trial is too easy a method of exit to meet the idea of a 'square deal' that is demanded by all Americans. For insubordination, incompetence or disobedience, the managing officers should have the right to suspend without pay, but the right of a fair and speedy hearing before final decision should be guaranteed to every employe who requests it. The employes of the state should feel that, under the law, their positions are secure and stable, so long as they perform faithful and efficient service, regardless of the change of the fortunes of political parties or of individuals. This is my idea of a fair and comprehensive civil service.

House Bill Is "Comprehensive"

"Speaking only of the bill that is intended to apply to the positions in the state service, I can assure you that Mr. Hull and his colleagues have made it quite 'comprehensive.' It is so drawn as to apply to every appointive position which could be thought to be improvable by its application. I am not saying that it is too wide in its scope. It is simply one single leap from the spoils system to the merit system. It makes efficiency and competence and honesty the requisites for admission to the service and it closes up the rear door with care and fairness to the appointee. It provides as carefully as possible against the entry of partisanship into the selection of applicants or in their discharge. It meets all the requirements of the word 'com-

prehensive' as applied to the merit system for all the state employes, and we believe that it will need but few amendments in the way of exemptions to make it just to the heads of departments in the matter of selecting confidential employes.

"During the session of the committee for the consideration of the bills that apply to the City of Chicago and to Cook County I was detained by other duties and did not aid in their preparation; but I am informed that they are equally broad and comprehensive.

"Civil service has been given a reasonably fair trial in the seventeen charitable institutions of the state. It is so much of a success that I believe no one would want to return to the old spoils system in the care of the unfortunate wards of the state. If it has proven a good thing in one set of institutions and has promoted efficiency, it would seem but just and the logical outcome that it should be extended. If it works for the charitable, there is not a reason why it should not be extended to the penal institutions. If it shows good results in the Board of Administration and the Charities Commission and promotes efficiency, even to the selection of the most confidential secretaries, there seems to me to be no reason why it should not promote efficiency in the other departments about the state capitol and in the department of justice. In other words, with the fair trial that has been given the merit system, there seems no just reason why it should not be made comprehensive as to practically all the departments of state.

"As to some of the details of the construction of the law there may be honest differences of opinion, but if an *honest* effort is made to harmonize these differences there will be no difficulty in securing an efficient bill in favor of efficiency, but my fear is that the flaws that will be pointed out will be with an idea of preventing rather than promoting such a measure.

A Warning in the Popular Vote

"However, the vote on the proposition for this law shows that the demand for its enactment is state-wide. It shows an awakening in both the rural and city districts that is a surprise to the politicians, and it should serve as a warning to them that the people are in no mood to be trifled with or deceived.

"Speaking as a citizen, entrusted for a brief period to help enact the laws for the state, I believe it the duty of every member to endeavor to conscientiously carry out the instructions of his constituents. Speaking as simply one of the minority, I feel that it is incumbent on every Democrat to carry out the party pledges, doubly backed by the vote of the people.

"Some of us have been taken up into the mountain and shown the beautiful pastures and green patronage fields that will be ours after the next general election and have been told that if we enact this will into a law, the bars will be put up that will deprive us of the delights of actual possession. In reply, I would say that we would be unworthy to possess the earth if we sought it merely from the selfish desire for the 'loaves and fishes.'

"In conclusion, gentlemen, it may be a pleasure to you to know that the steering committee of the minority, with Mr. Alschuler, the minority leader, at its head, held a full meeting to discuss this question of civil service and to decide upon our policy. We were unanimously in favor of supporting honestly this measure before the House at Springfield. I think you can safely say, so far as the steering committee and the leaders of the Democratic party are concerned, that these bills will have a united and hearty support from the minority. There was a proposition submitted, to which we agreed and to which Mr. Hull agreed later—which I believe would be detrimental to the state—that we amend the law by permitting three of the confidential secretaries to be appointed without examination. I really think that this is a mistake, and yet it may take away the objections to the bill that some of its opponents are urging. For that reason, I believe this amendment will be agreed to without opposition; but after that I can assure you that the minority at Springfield intend to stand faithfully for the enactment of these laws." (Applause.)

William Rothman

"The attitude of some of the members of the legislature on the question of state-wide civil service is very much like that of the man who was contracting with a painter to paint his house. He

told the painter that he did not care what color he painted the house, so long as it was red. Some of these gentlemen in our legislature are in favor of any kind of a civil service law, provided it does not take away from them the loaves and fishes.

"In considering the needs and expediency of a civil service act there are, roughly speaking, three parties to be considered—first, the general public; second, those who are holding or who desire to hold public positions under the act; third, the politicians who in the past have distributed the loaves and fishes among the second class, and many of whom desire to continue this distribution in the future.

"I suppose there is no longer any question among thinking people as to the desirability of a civil service law from the standpoint of the general public. Better service and a higher grade of men are obtained through the merit system, and there is a tendency to purify practical politics by the elimination of the positions in the public service as the spoils of war.

"As to the second class, made up of the people who fill public positions and who desire to fill them, it seems to me there can also be no question as to the desirability of civil service. Personally, I have never been able to understand why anybody should care to hold a minor or clerical position in a public office; but there are many people who do. Certainly a man who is willing to give his service to the state in such a position and who has the ability and the qualities that make him a desirable servant ought to be put in a position where there will be a career before him, not merely a job for a year or two during the time that his patron is in office. There should be, so far as it is possible to provide it, the opportunity for a career, to encourage an ambitious man, a man with energy and ability, to do his best, to continue to make himself better fit for the work, and to qualify himself for higher positions.

Practical Politicians and the Merit System

"As to the third class, the practical politicians, from their standpoint also I cannot see any reason why a civil service law, comprehensive in its character, should not be a very desirable thing. There is no doubt that one of the greatest banes of a successful politician's life is the constant importunity, the constant running after him and hanging on to him, the constant office-brokering and office-mongering to which he is subjected, and to which he will be subjected so long as jobs are treated as spoils. One of the recently elected county officers, a very estimable and conscientious gentleman, told me not long ago that never in his life had he been so near nervous prostration as since the last November election.

"Men who have had long political experience will tell you that, instead of being a source of political strength, the jobs which an officer-elect has at his disposal are an absolute source of weakness to him, because, for every man whom he gratifies with a position, he necessarily disappoints a dozen other friends who were seeking the position and who could not get it. So, for every friend that he makes in this way, he makes a dozen enemies to go out and sow dragon's teeth for him and to make trouble at the next election.

"Thus it seems to me that, from the standpoint of every person or class of persons interested, there is no question that a comprehensive and all-inclusive civil service act, for the state, for the county and for the municipalities of the state, is a very desirable thing. I trust that every member of the legislature, affiliated with my party at least will go to the front and obey the party command, the party instruction as laid down in the last party platform, and vote for the bills now pending before the legislature." (Applause.)

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PROPOSED BOND ISSUE FOR BRIDGES

On February 14, 1911, the City Council appropriated as a part of the annual budget—contingent upon the issuance of bonds—the sum of \$4,655,000 for the construction of new bridges on the Chicago River. On March 6 the Council by ordinance authorized these bonds to be issued if approved at the election of April 4, and an order was passed providing for the placing of this proposition upon the little ballot.

The bridges, the construction of which was provided for in the appropriation bill and their estimated cost of construction are as follows:

<i>Name—</i>	<i>Cost.</i>
Washington street bridge.....	\$360,000
Indiana street bridge.....	250,000
Thirty-fifth street bridge.....	260,000
Chicago avenue bridge.....	250,000
Ninety-second street bridge.....	325,000
Belmont avenue bridge.....	90,000
Lake street double-deck bridge.....	400,000
Fuller street bridge.....	175,000
Blackhawk street bridge.....	250,000
Weed street bridge.....	175,000
Webster avenue bridge.....	250,000
Madison street bridge.....	300,000
Clark street bridge.....	300,000
One Hundred and Sixth street bridge	250,000
One Hundredth street bridge.....	250,000
La Salle street bridge.....	360,000
California avenue, West Fork and Drainage Canal	150,000
Calumet river at Indiana avenue.....	150,000

Fixed Concrete Bridges.

North Kedzie avenue.....	15,000
North Spaulding avenue.....	15,000
Foster avenue	20,000
North Fortieth avenue.....	15,000
North Forty-eighth avenue.....	15,000
Forest Glen avenue.....	15,000
North Fifty-sixth avenue.....	15,000

Total\$4,655,000

In order that public attention might be directed toward this important measure a discussion was arranged to be held at the City Club on Friday, March 31. Mr. Charles L. Dering, Chairman of the

Association of Commerce Rivers and Harbors Committee, which had been active in the promotion of this bridge building project, and Mr. George C. Sikes were the principal speakers. Ald. Charles M. Foell, chairman of the City Council Finance Committee, and Mr. B. J. Mullaney were present and also spoke briefly on the subject under discussion. Mr. George Packard, chairman of the City Club Committee on Harbors, Wharves and Waterways, presided.

CHAIRMAN PACKARD: "Next Tuesday the voters will have an opportunity to express themselves on the question of whether or not a bond issue of \$4,655,000 shall be authorized for the purpose of constructing or re-building some twenty-five bridges across various parts of the Chicago River. In a way there is a measure of compulsion about the proposition inasmuch as the attitude of the Secretary of War has been peremptory in regard to the Lake Street bridge. Over that bridge a great many thousand people are transported every day by the Lake Street elevated railroad. The removal of that convenience to the public would be a matter of serious disadvantage.

"Some questions have been raised as to the necessity of so large an issue and so comprehensive a plan. I have no doubt that these and subsidiary questions will be answered by the speakers who will enlighten you to-day."

Mr. Charles L. Dering, chairman of the Association of Commerce Rivers and Harbors Committee, was the first speaker.

Charles L. Dering

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the City Club: I bring you a message from the Chicago Association of Commerce: Vote 'Yes' on the bond issue for city bridges.

"You should remember in considering this question of river improvement, that there are three public bodies which have limited jurisdiction over the Chicago River. It is necessary for your understanding that you learn to what extent these three public bodies exercise power, how they co-ordinate and where they overlap. The city, on permit from the Federal government, builds harbors, wharves, tunnels, and bridges. The Sanitary District, also under a permit from the War Department, authorized by Congress, may improve and change the Chicago River, including the reversal of the flow thereof, to the extent necessary for the purposes of sanitation and in so far as it does not impede the navigation of the river. The Federal government under authority granted by the Constitution and under enactments of Congress has powers that are absolutely supreme for the protection and preservation of navigable waters."

Mr. Dering read some verses descriptive of the decline of commerce on the Chicago River. "We are happy to tell you, however," he said, "that the recession apparently is passed and we are on the up grade again. We are going to catch up to Kenosha and Racine and Waukegan and some of the rest of them after a while, if we get these center pier bridges out and thus improve the channel."

Bridges to be Replaced

"Let us see what bridges are being planned for under the bond issue. Starting on a trip from the mouth of the river we come first to the Rush Street bridge. That bridge which now has a center pier, must be replaced by a bridge of the bascule type. But it is still in good condition and fairly adequate to traffic at present, so the same haste in having it replaced is probably not required."

"The Clark Street bridge is in bad shape and must be moved in the near future."

"The Wells Street bridge, carries an immense traffic from the North Side, from the North-Western depot and on the lines of the Northwestern elevated railway. Think what it would mean if a boat bumped into the center pier of that bridge and put it out of commission! That might happen at any time."

"Perhaps before I deal directly with this question, it will be best for me to tell you a little of the history of Chicago River work and how the Rivers and Harbors Committee of the Chicago Association of Commerce has been engaged in that work. This committee is a composite of the old Chicago River Improvement Association and the Calumet River Improvement Association, merged into the Chicago Association of Commerce. The committee is composed of men prominent in the commercial and business life of Chicago, men who have vast interests at stake on the Chicago and Calumet Rivers, who represent in the actual commerce that is transported on those rivers a very large percentage—I wouldn't attempt to tell you what percentage but there are two members on the committee each of whom represents one-tenth of the total commerce. So you see that they are men who should be amply qualified to judge of the needs of river and harbor improvement."

Association of Commerce Interested

"The reason, perhaps, that the Chicago Association of Commerce is so vitally interested in this proposition is that it seemed to be so taken for granted that this bond issue would pass that nobody was talking about it, nobody was giving it any attention; it was likely to be lost through the very apathy of the people. We have therefore taken it up only within the last week. At this point I want to express my very sincere appreciation of the arduous and enthusiastic work of the young man who has had charge of this campaign all the way through, Mr. Arthur Sullivan."

"I will not attempt to take you through the entire history of the river and harbor work, through that time when Captain Dunham and Captain Sullivan, a score of years ago worked for the widening and deepening and straightening of the Chicago River, nor even that time when later committees worked for the removal of the tunnels. All of that work, or the major part of it, has been accomplished in very satisfactory fashion. The most important work which has not been accomplished is the widening of the River from a point between Adams Street and Jackson Boulevard to Van Buren Street."

How would the people who used that bridge get to the city? The elevated railroad is planning to cross the river perhaps at Dearborn Street, perhaps at State Street, while the Wells Street bridge is being built, but no steps have yet been taken in that direction. La Salle Street is another suggested crossing place. We have no bridge at La Salle Street and there is no project for the building of one, except that which is planned for the indefinite future and provided for in the bond issue.

"On the North branch, near the mouth of the so-called 'cork' in the neck of the north harbor, there is provision for three new bridges. Some people will tell you that the Chicago river is not an adequate harbor; the North branch of the Chicago River, if it were improved, would be a better harbor than all Milwaukee has put together.

"Beyond those three proposed bridges you come to an open span at Indiana Street where the bridge was condemned and taken out last spring under orders of the Federal government, acting through the War Department.

Lack of Bridges a Fire Menace

"At Chicago Avenue there is a bridge that has already been condemned by the War Department and which must come out in a few months. Stop and think a minute what that will mean. With no bridge at Indiana Street, if the Chicago Avenue bridge is taken out, there will be no bridges upon which people and traffic can cross the river between Erie Street and Division Street. There will be no bridges on which your fire department can get back and forth, and for that reason the possibility of a fire on either side of the river in that region becomes a matter of the gravest moment at once. If the fire department were compelled to go by the way of Erie or Division Streets to cross the river to reach a fire in the vicinity of Chicago Avenue, a serious conflagration might destroy more property than this entire bond issue calls for.

"Further along we have bridges at Division Street on both sides of Goose Island and at North Avenue. There are bridges at Fullerton Avenue and Diversey Street that must be rebuilt. It is proposed to build new bridges at

Blackhawk and Weed Streets to serve the people in that vicinity.

"Coming back to the forks of the river, we come to the Lake Street bridge. The Lake Street bridge has been ordered out by the War Department; its removal date was set for December 31st of the year just past, but through the intervention of the Association of Commerce and the request of the city authorities we have secured from the Secretary of War a little added leniency. The Secretary of War says that he will do nothing until after the election when this bond issue is passed upon. He gives the impression that if the vote on the bond issue is favorable he will then extend the time somewhat further; no definite date has been set. The city is derelict as it stands, and in contempt of the official order. The War Department will probably permit the bridge to remain until good progress at least can be made on the Washington Street bridge so that these two bridges may not be out at the same time. If, however, this bond issue fails, the Secretary of War will proceed at once to effect the removal of that bridge and to instruct the Department of Justice to collect the fines against the City of Chicago for the months it has been in contempt of the Federal government's order. That fine is \$5,000 a month. The Washington Street bridge has been out for years. Why it has not been built I think you all know; the funds in the city treasury have not been sufficient.

"At Madison Street there is another center pier bridge that is not only obstructive to navigation but in very bad shape. Last year it was seriously damaged by a collision with a boat and put out of commission for several months.

"At Adams Street and at Jackson Boulevard there are center pier bridges which the Sanitary District is under promise to rebuild. The Metropolitan railway bridge, a structure only ninety odd feet between spans has been ordered out by the Federal government, but there is at present some controversy as to this order. The trustees of the Sanitary District believe that they will be obliged to rebuild the Van Buren Street bridge, although it is now of the bascule type, because the width between abutments is not sufficient to take care of the flow of water in a 200-foot channel. The bridges

which the Sanitary District is expected to build are of course not provided for in the proposed bond issue.

The Twelfth Street Bridge

"The worst bridge obstruction that we have on the South Side is that at 12th Street. That bridge, too, has been ordered out by the Federal government. The Association of Commerce has shown its usual good will and friendly spirit towards the people who use the bridge, by acceding to a two year period in which to rebuild that bridge. It will not, therefore, be rebuilt or taken out, at any rate, until December 1, 1912. It is expected that the Sanitary District, according to promises which it has made, will rebuild that bridge, so that the new bridge will be ready to go into operation before the old one is taken out, or that there will be an interval of only a few days between the two.

"The bridge for the St. Charles Air Line is as obstructive as that at 12th Street. It is a railroad matter and the railroads have promised to take care of it as quickly as they can tell what is to be done on 12th Street. On beyond is the Pennsylvania Railroad bridge at Stuart Avenue. Through our efforts that bridge instead of being built with a 140-foot draw, as was originally intended is to be built with a 200-foot draw at right angles to the stream. The work on the shorter span was already started. The masonry was in and the iron work on the ground but the old abutments will be discarded, the iron work carted away and the new bridge built with a 200-foot span.

"Perhaps the next worst bridge is at 35th Street. It doesn't obstruct commerce to any great extent because there is very little commerce beyond that point but it is in most dangerous condition for passage. The bridge has been repaired and repaired by the engineering and bridge departments of the city until it is impossible to patch it up any longer. It is very dangerous indeed to the traffic which crosses it, so dangerous that a friend of mine that lives in the vicinity never drives his automobile over. He gets out and walks over whenever he crosses this bridge. Tens of thousands of people pass over it daily.

"At South Chicago there are bridges like the 92nd Street bridge which, prior to the time that a considerable sum was spent on it for repairs, was in just as dangerous condition as the 35th Street bridge. It will not be long until it reaches that same condition again. We have also the 102nd Street bridge in South Chicago, which is in a very dilapidated condition and is obstructive to commerce.

Current Funds Insufficient

"What shall we do about this situation? It was the program of the city administration, that the Lake Street, Washington Street, Chicago Avenue, 35th and the 92nd Street bridges should be included in the budget this year to be built from current funds, which should be reimbursed by the bond issue. But there was not money enough for the absolute necessities of the city, so it was quite impossible to include a single one of these bridges in the budget, to be built from current funds, even if the passage of the bond issue were assured. For this reason it was decided that these bridges should be built only from the proceeds of the bond issue.

"Now, gentlemen, what is your pleasure with this bond issue? The figure set by the proper departments of the city as necessary to the rebuilding of all the center pier bridges of the Chicago River and including some few concrete bridges at outlying points where there is no navigation, is \$4,655,000. Can there be a doubt in any of your minds as to what is not only the right thing to do but what is the absolutely imperative thing to do in this question? What does it mean to the convenience and safety of the people of this city to have the bridges properly installed? The answer seems to me so clear that it does not appear as if there could be a dissenting vote on the proposition.

"What are you going to do with the bond issue? If you don't want to jump at these bridge crossings, if you don't want to swim across—and you can not fly—you must vote for a bond issue to build these bridges. I appeal to you all to not only to vote for it, but to carry this work to your offices and into your neighborhood and induce your friends to vote for it also." (Applause.)

George C. Sikes

"The need for the improvements to which Mr. Dering has called your attention is so obvious that it would seem as if no campaign should be necessary to enable us to secure them. We need these bridges across the river and, of course, they cost money. The quicker we spend that money and get the bridges, the better off we will be.

"As Mr. Dering has told you, at Washington Street there is no bridge at all. Think of it! For several years that bridge which led from the heart of the city over to the West Side has been out and we have been deprived of that street. Obviously the wise thing to do is to get that bridge as speedily as possible.

"The bridge at Indiana Street on the North Side became dilapidated and fell into the river. It was no longer usable and we had to tear it out. That bridge was an obstruction to navigation; it was condemned by the Federal government as an obstruction to navigation, but fortunately it fell down and forced us to remove it anyway without the order of the government. The Federal government is not interested in our getting bridges; it is interested only in having the obstructions to navigation removed. When these bridges are out, together with the center piers and any abutments that obstruct navigation, the Federal government will have no more interest in the matter. When they have cleared the channel they have done their duty. But our citizens, as Mr. Dering has indicated, are vitally interested in getting the bridges placed there as quickly as possible. It is an indication of unprogressiveness that we should be so slow in accomplishing results of that kind.

Center Piers Must be Removed

"Where there are no bridges we must, of course, have them right away. But there is another angle to the problem, that of the removal of obstructions. We have talked a great deal about the advantages of water transportation and the decline in our water traffic because of the obstacles to navigation. Some of the principal obstacles to the navigation of the river are these bridges with center piers and a narrow span. The Federal government has held hearings at which all parties interested in the clearing of

the river were given a right to be heard and bring out the objections to these bridges from the viewpoint of navigation. The city has never appeared to object to the position taken by any of the parties at these hearings. In fact, the city's representatives have conceded that the bridges were obstacles to navigation and have said that they ought to be removed. They have said that it was the desire of the city authorities to bring about the removal of these bridges and the substitution of more suitable ones, but that the lack of funds had prevented them from carrying out this plan.

"So we have before us the immediate problem of building bridges at points where no bridges now exist and the replacing of those which are now obstacles to navigation, like the bridges at Lake and Twelfth Streets. These must be removed or the Federal government will take action to force their removal or to fine the city. Of course, as I say, after the bridges are out, the Federal government will have no more interest in the matter. But the people of Chicago are concerned in having the bridges restored to take care of the traffic needs of the city.

Bond Issue Too Comprehensive

"As I said, this program is so obviously desirable and necessary that it is difficult to understand how any intelligent citizen should oppose it. I wish merely to express one regret, namely, that the proposed bond issue was not confined to those bridges which it is the intention to build right away, but included provision for a large number of bridges and for expenditures that will not be required within the next two or three years. The city authorities say that they do not expect to spend all this money within five or six years. It is well to understand, too, for our own enlightenment, that this is not a binding program. You will find in the appropriation ordinance passed by the city council in the early part of this year that these bridges are specified as to location and cost, but the proposition which we are to vote upon as it will appear upon the ballot,—while it states the amount of the bond issue—does not name the bridges upon which the proceeds are to be spent. We are, therefore, merely given our sanction as voters

to any bridge building program which the city—within the limits of the bond issue—may elect to carry out. The city is not obliged to spend that money if any reason develops why they should not, as I take it they are also authorized to spend money for other bridges not mentioned here. That, in a way, is very fortunate.

"The 12th Street bridge of which Mr. Dering spoke, is not on this list of bridges for which appropriations were made. Mr. Dering said that the Sanitary District was expected to build the Twelfth Street bridge. Some time ago, that was the intention. The Sanitary District, of course, has no right to undertake the work of building bridges just because bridges are needed; that is the duty of the City. The Sanitary District, however, is interested in maintaining a certain flow of water in the canal, and where a bridge with a center pier is an abstacle to the necessary flow, the authorities of the District have conceived that they are justified in tearing that bridge out. Of course, if the bridge is torn out, another of the bascule type will have to be put in its place. At one time the Sanitary District intended to rebuild the Washington Street bridge to get rid of the center pier which was obstructing the flow of water. But in the course of the city's progress other agencies brought about the removal of that bridge. The Sanitary District is therefore under no obligations to build a new bridge at Washington Street; that problem is up to the city.

The Twelfth Street Bridge and the Sanitary District

"I apprehend that the problem of rebuilding the Twelfth Street bridge will work out in the same way. Very recently the Federal government ordered the Twelfth Street bridge out. If that bridge is to be taken out by order of the Federal government, it by no means follows that the Sanitary District will put in one in its place."

MR. DERING: "That is why we consented to the two-year extension by the Federal government of the period within which the bridge must be replaced."

MR. SIKES: "The Sanitary District probably would have removed that Twelfth Street bridge and put in another of different type if it had not been

that the plan for widening Twelfth Street had raised the question as to what kind of a bridge would be wanted there. That is, I understand, the main reason why the reconstruction has been delayed. My information is—I have spoken informally with one or two members of the Sanitary District—that the Sanitary District will refuse to build the Twelfth Street bridge. That expense will, therefore, be placed upon the city and, consequently some of this \$4,655,000 to be raised by bond issue will have to be used for the Twelfth Street bridge instead of others included in the present program. I think that under this broad ordinance that money can be so transferred, and I presume that it is fortunate that it is so.

"Some of these bridges are badly needed now, but the immediate necessity for certain other bridges included in this list is not so clear. As we have an election every year and would have an opportunity to submit other bond issues for bridges to the people, I could have wished that we were submitting at this time the proposition for building only those bridges, the need of which is imperative.

Proposition Should be More Specific

"I want to make another remark while I am discussing this subject about the whole policy of the referendum. Our citizens made the demand that the right to issue bonds should be subject to a referendum. As I take it, the theory of that demand was, that the city authorities should outline, as far as possible, specific and detailed propositions for the people to vote upon; in the pending proposition we are simply asked to authorize the city to spend this amount of money 'for bridges.'

"The first proposal for a bond issue after the passage of the recent law increasing the city's bonding power called for assembling as a single proposition to be voted upon by the people a great many items, calling for a bond issue of \$12,000,000. Fortunately, to my way of thinking, the city government abandoned the idea of submitting the bond issue in that form. They did submit last fall the bond issue to cover the cost of building the city hall, and we all turned in and helped to get that. That was the kind of

a referendum that was by the law contemplated instead of a blanket referendum authorizing the city officials to go ahead under general authority. In doing the latter we are giving up the control over these bond issues which we ought to retain in our own hands.

"The only objection to authorizing such a large issue of bonds as that contemplated is that our borrowing power is very restricted. We want to measure our expenditures one against another very carefully. While to my mind there is no more pressing need before the city at this time than that of building six or eight of the bridges which are contemplated in this program, it doesn't follow so clearly that every one of these twenty-five bridges should take precedence over other possible lines of expenditures. We have a borrowing power of \$20,000,000. I think the people want to get first the six or eight bridges that are of most vital importance; the cost of these might amount to a couple of million dollars. I think that if we continue to submit general propositions of this sort, a certain element in the population will begin to fight these bond issues. Of course these bridges are all needed, and there seems to be no serious danger of the defeat of this measure, but in view of the tendency to submit these blanket propositions, I want to serve notice that some of us may take a different view of some of these bond issues in the future if there are too many things comprehended under one head. As to this particular proposition, of course, we must all fall in and support it heartily." (Applause.)

Mr. B. J. Mullaney, Commissioner of Public Works, was invited to address the club.

Itemized Bond Issue Might be Defeated

MR. B. J. MULLANEY: "I would like to say a word or two to clear up one question that was raised by Mr. Sikes, as to the conservatism of this bridge building proposition. He seems to believe that the measure is a little too broad, that more bridges are included than were absolutely necessary, and that the proposition ought to be submitted in more concrete form—more specifically itemized. If you will just give a moment's thought to the question, it will appeal to all of you that there is a very

good human-nature reason in not undertaking to submit an itemized bond proposition for a large number of specific bridges. It is always possible that the question may be raised that bond propositions mean more taxes—and none of us are in favor of more taxes. If the proposition were submitted in such a way that each bridge is specified on the ballot, the man who is interested in the Washington street bridge or the Indiana street bridge is very likely to vote for that particular bridge and to vote against all the rest. The man who is interested in the bridge at One Hundred and Sixth street will vote for that bridge and against all others. When your total vote is counted, every voter may have voted in favor of some part of the bond issue, but the whole proposition has been defeated. That seems to me to be a very good reason for not submitting every item to a separate vote.

"If you will bear with me just a moment, I think I can convince you that that is a conservative bridge building proposition instead of an elastic or too comprehensive one. In the city administration and in the City Council there were many who were in favor of making the bridge bond proposition very much larger and more comprehensive than it is on the theory that we should cover in this bond issue practically all our needs for a considerable number of years, thus establishing a fixed program of building these bridges. Had that policy been strictly adhered to, the amount asked for in this proposition would have been at least \$2,000,000 larger.

Many Bridges in Dangerous Condition

"The program as now outlined provides for eighteen bridges, besides seven fixed concrete, about which I will speak later. Of those eighteen bridges, only eight are to replace existing bridges; the others are new. The new bridges are to be at Washington street, Indiana street, Belmont avenue, Fullerton avenue, Blackhawk street, Weed street, One Hundredth street, La Salle avenue, California avenue, and Indiana avenue and the Calumet river. I include Belmont avenue as one of the new bridges because the city will not be responsible for operating that bridge any more. We kept it in operation last fall for a month or two

at the risk of incurring criminal prosecution. The bridge is in such condition that we stationed policemen there to keep people—particularly children—off the bridge when it was being swung, so that if the bridge fell into the river, the city would be liable for any personal injuries.

"There is no bridge at California avenue at present; there has never been one there or at One Hundredth street, but these localities are so situated that the insistent demands from the people of these neighborhoods have made it necessary that bridges be placed there—and they have a right to have these bridges, too. In the past, there have been bridges at Belmont avenue, Washington, Indiana, Lake, Blackhawk, Weed and One Hundredth streets. There has been no bridge at La Salle street on the main branch of the Chicago river within my memory. As I said before, bridges have been located at some time at all these points. If they were needed five, ten or fifteen years ago, they are certainly needed now.

"Four more of these bridges, those at Thirty-fifth street, Chicago avenue, Ninety-second street and Lake Street, are practically out of commission at the present time. The Chicago avenue and the Lake street bridges have been ordered out by the Federal Government; there is danger that the other two will fall in some time when a heavily loaded street car goes over them. They could not be omitted from a bridge building program. That leaves four bridges to be considered—those at Webster, Clark, Madison and One Hundred and Sixth streets. The Webster avenue bridge is the old Wells street bridge, I believe, operated by hand. The Clark and Madison street bridges will undoubtedly be ordered out in the course of time by the Federal Government, because the center piers obstruct navigation. The One Hundred and Sixth street bridge is in very bad condition and was made usable only by the expenditure of some fifteen to twenty thousand dollars this last year in lengthening one of the spans so that boats can go through.

Bridges Not Provided For

"Had it been the intention to make this bridge proposition anything but a very conservative one, other bridges should have been included. They were omitted because of circumstances which make it possible that some other authority than the city may build these bridges eventually or at least join in building them. The Rush street bridge is entangled with the boulevard link proposition, which is always up for discussion. The Northwestern "L" is under obligation to build the Wells street bridge. At Diversey, there is a boulevard bridge, the cost of construction of which the Lincoln Park board should bear at least in part. The bridge at Fullerton avenue is located at a point where the river is not straight and is not seriously a menace to navigation. While the bridge is old, it will do service for some little time yet. It is figured that when the government orders out the Madison street bridge, as it undoubtedly will, the old Madison street bridge can be placed at Fullerton avenue.

"New bridges at Adams, Jackson, Van Buren and Twelfth streets were omitted from the appropriation on the theory that probably the Sanitary District can be required or induced to build those bridges to secure the necessary flow through the river.

"The fixed concrete bridges are all up on the north branch of the Chicago river beyond the head of navigation. The river there is open to launches and small pleasure craft. The city has to maintain bridges at certain streets which cross the river. The bridges at these points now are old bridges built by the town of Jefferson many years ago; most of them are in bad condition. The territory on both sides of the river is building up so that heavy traffic is increasing. The present bridges are hardly strong enough to permit this traffic to pass over. For that reason, these bridges were included in the bond proposition." (Applause.)

PROFESSOR WILDMAN: "If this bond issue is authorized and only half of the bonds are issued, does the borrowing power of the city become reduced by the amount of the authorization or by the amount that was actually issued?"

Restriction of Bonding Power

ALDERMAN FOELL: "There is no doubt in my mind that the bonding power of the city would be affected only to the extent of bonds actually issued. The provision of this amount of money for bridge building does not mean that it will all be spent. It does not necessarily mean that it will be spent for bridges of the bascule type. It simply provides a fund for bridge building, so far as that seems wise and necessary. Our program has been outlined after conference and co-operation with the Federal authorities. These authorities will relieve us from the possible infliction of penalties that have already been threatened.

"When I say that our present program doesn't even decide finally the type of bridge to be built, I have in mind the possible change of type after some enabling harbor legislation, now pending at Springfield, is enacted. The city authorities and the Sanitary District, pretty largely through the co-operation influence of the Association of Commerce, have now agreed upon harbor bills. If those bills are passed, as seems likely at the present time, and substantial progress is made toward the construction of an outer harbor, it may be that a different type of bridge will be needed. This appropriation does not interfere in any way with the use of any kind of bridge that the future administrations of the city may decide upon. It simply provides a fund, once and for all, for the construction of such bridges as will be needed in the near future.

"The ordinance provides for the date of these bonds, but does not say when they shall be issued. If a part of bond issue is withheld for a time, the interest coupons that have matured to the date of issuance will simply be eliminated." (Applause.)

Penalty for Failure to Remove Bridge

MR. MOHLER: "What is the amount of the penalty imposed by the government for failure to remove the condemned bridges within the time set for their removal?"

MR. SIKES: "It is fixed at \$5,000 a month for each bridge; how many bridges have been ordered out?"

MR. DERING: "Three; those at Lake street, Twelfth street and Chicago avenue. I think that if we adopt this program and proceed with the removal of these bridges, we can expect that the Federal Government will be very lenient with us in the enforcement of this penalty."

MR. CRESSY: "Isn't the important consideration the fact that the government has the right to remove these bridges on its initiative and that after the infliction and payment of the fine the government may proceed to have this work done? Is not the imposition of the penalty a matter of secondary importance?"

MR. GEORGE E. HOOKER: "When was this penalty order entered?"

MR. DERING: "There has been no penalty order entered. At the request of the speaker, who was asked by the city administration to visit the War Department, the order of the Federal Government was stayed. The government is now awaiting the result of our balloting on the bond issue. If the judgment of the voters should be against the bond issue, the Secretary of War will instruct the Department of Justice to proceed at once against the city. The city then would be asked to pay the penalty from December 31 of last year."

Present Action not Final

MR. MULLANEY: "Let me say one more word on the question of the safeguarding of this appropriation in case any question should arise in the future as to the wisdom of these expenditures. The public has at least two more opportunities to block these expenditures if it wishes to do so. Under the ordinance, bonds to the amount of only one-half million dollars can be issued and sold in 1911; of only one million dollars in 1912. The remainder of the authorized issue will be held for issuance after that date. That gives plenty of time to determine whether these bridges or other bridges or any bridges at all are wanted, and appropriate action can be secured through the City Council. If the City Council fails to act, the public has recourse to the National Government. Under the rules of the War Department, the permit to the city for the construction of these

bridges comes now, not from the Secretary of War, but from Congress itself. Therefore, if you change your mind about the bridges or don't like the program, you can have your Congressman stop the permit."

MR. ARTHUR J. SULLIVAN: "The bond issue, I think, should pass if only on account of its importance as an element in the traction problem. The question of the convenience of these bridges to the men who come from all parts of town to transact business in the loop and to others who come for the purpose of

shopping should weigh even if the merit of the proposition from a purely commercial standpoint were not established. Our citizens want to get downtown as quickly as possible. They want to be sure that when they get to the river they can cross on a bridge that is safe, and that will open and shut with some facility so that they will not be delayed in getting down to work and home again."

NOTE.—The proposed bond issue for bridges was approved at the election of April 4 by a vote—unofficial canvass—of 211,751 to 65,080.

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REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT IN CALIFORNIA

The annual meeting of the City Club was held on April 15, 1911. Prior to the presentation of reports and the election of officers, Mr. Meyer Lissner of Los Angeles, chairman of the Los Angeles Public Utility Commission and chairman of the Republican State Central Committee of California, addressed the club on "The Restoration of Representative Government in California." Mr. Lissner was largely instrumental in founding the City Club of Los Angeles and was recently elected president of that organization. Accompanying Mr. Lissner as a guest of the club was Mr. H. W. Brundige, the editor of the Los Angeles "Express." Dr. Henry B. Favill presided.

Mr. Meyer Lissner

"Five years ago the state government of California was still under the control of the political bureau of a great corporation, the Southern Pacific. The big chief, William F. Herrin, chief counsel for the Southern Pacific in the state of California, sat in the law office of that railroad at San Francisco and issued his orders, which were transmitted along the line by his lieutenants in various parts of the state. City councils granted away priceless franchises for little or nothing.

Supervisors barefacedly reduced by millions assessments honestly made on corporation property. We had a railroad commission, but it was somnolescent. Legislatures came and went, each one seemingly more completely under the control of the railroad bosses than its predecessors, and even candidates for high judicial offices had to deliver their home delegations in order to secure nominations. City conventions, county conventions and state conventions were all mere pawns directed or presided over by Southern Pacific employes or attorneys. The last governor of California was named by Mr. Harriman at a private dinner given in Washington a year before he was nominated. The convention that nominated the last governor of California was presided over by the leading attorney for the Southern Pacific Railroad in the southern end of the state of California and the last governor's nomination was made possible by the delivery of the San Francisco delegation by Abraham Ruef who, besides other considerations, received \$14,000 for that service.

"For a generation the people of California had known of these and similar conditions, yet they tolerated them. Machine organization was so strong that the attempt to wrest control from it was con-

sidered well-nigh hopeless. California was nothing more nor less than a conquered state, governed from Wall street. At length a few hardy enthusiasts—cranks and agitators they were called—initiated a movement with the ultimate object of destroying the railroad machine and restoring popular government.

"The first work undertaken, however, had no such ambitious program. Our first purpose was to clean up the municipal government of the city of Los Angeles. Five years ago municipal conditions in Los Angeles were about as bad as they could be. We had a particularly dangerous machine to fight—dangerous because it was apparently so very respectable. It consisted of a lot of good fellows—well dressed fellows—who handed out fine cigars and patted you on the back and treated you to drinks. It had in it some of the leading men of the city. It was controlled by Senator Frank Flint, who has just been superseded by Senator Wood.

Bi-partisan Politics in Los Angeles

"At that time, we had partisan politics in our municipal affairs. Elections were carried on by the Republican party against the Democratic party, but both parties, so far as their nominations were concerned, were controlled by the Southern Pacific Railroad from behind the scenes. For that reason, it did not make any difference to the railroad which candidate was elected. It was that condition of affairs that we fought to eliminate.

"This whole movement, gentlemen, originated with four young fellows in the city of Los Angeles. We met in the office of one of us to take over the situation. We asked ourselves: 'Are we going to let this thing continue indefinitely? Are we going to let a default judgment be taken against the people of Los Angeles every time we have an election? Isn't it time that we try to do something?' We came to the conclusion that it was. The next task was to work out our program. We concluded that the only way to beat the machine in the city of Los Angeles was to organize a non-partisan movement. We agreed that partisan politics had no place whatever in municipal affairs. We believed that the people would stand back of a

properly organized non-partisan movement. The launching of such a movement was therefore decided upon.

"Our first move was to get up a little paper that we took around to the leading citizens of the right kind and that we asked them to sign. It was a declaration in favor of non-partisanship in municipal affairs. Thus we secured the signatures of one hundred of the leading citizens of Los Angeles agreeing to organize a non-partisan movement. We called our organization the Non-Partisan City Central Committee of One Hundred. The executive committee of that organization sat night after night trying to select good men who could be induced to run for the various city offices. Twenty-three officials were to be elected, and we finally prevailed upon twenty-three fairly good men to accept nominations. We did not go near the convention; our candidates were nominated by petition under the provision of the law that candidates may be nominated independently upon a 3 per cent petition. There were, therefore, three tickets in the field, the Republican, the Democratic, and the Non-Partisan. We made the best campaign we could. We were 'green' amateurs at that time. The other fellows laughed at us and thought we would not accomplish anything. We were doubtful about it ourselves, but we had a whole lot of enthusiasm. We did not elect our candidate for mayor, but we did elect sixteen out of the twenty-three city officials. We elected four out of nine city councilmen, the whole Board of Education, and most of the other city officials except the mayor. That was encouraging from one point of view, although we were very greatly disappointed because we did not elect the mayor. We now had a pretty good nucleus for the organization. We knew we were in for war and that this election was only one battle—perhaps only a big skirmish.

City Club of Los Angeles Organized

"Our next thought was: 'How are we to keep this "bunch" of fellows together? How can we keep them shoulder to shoulder, working with each other for this movement?' The thought came to us of organizing a City Club for that purpose. That was the inspiration of the

organization of the City Club of Los Angeles.

"The City Club of Los Angeles was organized four years ago with a membership of about fifteen to start with; today we have over one thousand members. It is easier, gentlemen, to get members in the City Club of Los Angeles than it is in most City Clubs, because we do not have clubrooms and the dues are simply nominal. It is merely a luncheon club; we meet once a week and have a talk by somebody who is supposed to know what he is talking about. That talk is very widely reported in the newspapers. Thus the principal advantage of the City Club, besides getting our men together, is the publicity that is given to the addresses that are delivered before the club.

"Having this much of a nucleus, we were encouraged to tackle the larger job of cleaning the state government. That looked like a Herculean task, but we essayed it anyhow. We called together a few of the men in other parts of California whom we thought could be trusted. We had a little conference, with not more than ten men present, in a Los Angeles restaurant. We talked about what we could do to redeem the state. California is a predominantly Republican state. We recognized that in order to secure control of the state government it would be necessary to control the machinery of the Republican party or at least to take it away from the railroad. That is what we set out to do.

"We decided to organize a movement within the Republican party for the cleaning up and redemption of that organization; for taking the control of that party away from the railroad and of influencing the nomination of good men upon the Republican ticket. That was essential because the election of a Democrat to any office in the state of California is a very rare occurrence. So we agreed to call another meeting at Oakland, across the bay from San Francisco, to which more men would be invited. At that meeting, about fifty prominent reform workers from different parts of the state were present, including such men as Francis J. Heney, Rudolph Spreckels and ex-Governor Pardee. We organized

a movement within the Republican party then and there and we called it the Lincoln-Roosevelt Republican League. We announced that its purpose, primarily and essentially, was to clean up the Republican party of the state of California. We declared at that time in favor of a number of such progressive measures as the direct election of United State senators and direct primaries.

Movement Backed by the Press

"We sent our organizers throughout the state. We organized local clubs in different counties, which got the newspapers' support. Most of the newspapers of California gave us splendid backing, especially the country newspapers. We had difficulty with the large metropolitan papers. There were only two metropolitan papers in the state that we could depend upon, one in Los Angeles, and another in San Francisco. The San Francisco paper that backed us through thick and thin is the 'Bulletin,' Freemont Older's paper; the Los Angeles paper is, of course, the 'Express,' which is presided over by my colleague, Mr. H. W. Brundige, who is here today.

"During the time we were organizing for the next state campaign, we had a breathing spell. We thought we would prevent the possibility of partisan politics ever entering again into any municipal campaign in the city of Los Angeles. For that purpose certain charter amendments were drafted by the Municipal League of Los Angeles, a non-political organization which is the municipal watch-dog of the city. Those amendments provided for the abolition of ward lines in the city, the election of councilmen at large and the elimination of party voting. They provided that all nominations should be made by petition. Any one hundred citizens by signing a paper could nominate a candidate for any office from mayor down; the names of all the men so nominated would be placed on the primary ballot. When one person was to be elected to an office, the two candidates receiving the highest vote were to have their names printed on the final ballot; in the case of councilmen where there were nine to be elected, the eighteen highest went on the ballot. In that way the danger of splitting up the

contest so that a minority candidate might be elected was avoided.

"These charter amendments were drafted by the Municipal League. The City Club, which, at that time, had become a fairly strong institution, made the campaign for these amendments. We organized a campaign committee, containing the enthusiastic workers of whom I have spoken, and we carried those amendments to the tune of about two to one. In that way, we placed the city of Los Angeles absolutely under non-partisan municipal government. The names of candidates go on the ballot arranged in groups alphabetically. There is no opportunity for straight ticket voting; the voter must mark opposite the name of every man for whom he wishes to vote. That system puts a premium on intelligent voting.

"Mr. Brundige and I have had quite a little fun reading about some conferences that have been held in Hot Springs between Democratic and Republican aldermen of Chicago trying to get together and make a committee slate for the city council. It really seems to us ridiculous that, in a great city like Chicago, national party politics, should be injected into municipal affairs. It would be a big step in advance if you could get away from it.

The Recall in Operation

"Our next move was to fire the mayor that our opponents elected in the first campaign. He was a Democrat, but we had nothing against him on that account. But he was also a grafter and we had considerable against him on that account. He was guilty of the meanest sort of graft; he grafted off the red-light district. So we instituted a recall against him. Los Angeles, you know, is the home of the recall.

"I want to point out right here that the recall of an official is not an easy thing. The American spirit of fair play has to be reckoned with. People will say: 'Let him serve out his term,' or 'Let the poor devil alone, don't disgrace him for life.' It cost us over \$3,000 in our little city of Los Angeles—little comparatively; we think it is a great big thing in California—to get the necessary number of signatures so we could institute the recall in this case. It cost us

over \$10,000 more to make a successful campaign.

"A peculiar thing happened. The mayor whom we sought to have recalled had a right to have his name printed on the ballot without any request upon his part. He had a chance to be vindicated. At the last minute he was prevailed upon to instruct the city clerk to leave his name off the ballot. That left only two candidates for mayor at that recall election, the 'good government' candidate, the present mayor of Los Angeles who has been re-elected since, and a Socialist candidate, an obscure carpenter. Notwithstanding the fact, however, that the Socialist vote in Los Angeles was only 3,000 at that time, that carpenter got 10,000 additional votes. Our candidate was only elected by a narrow majority of 1,500. The whole machine, every mother's son of them, voted for the Socialist candidate. They would have voted for a yellow dog rather than have voted for anybody who was opposed to their machine.

"Of course, the same problems that enter into a campaign in every large city, especially a cosmopolitan city, entered to some extent in our recall campaign in the city of Los Angeles. Our opponents tried to make out that we were going to try to close the town; that we were not liberal enough. We sent out postal cards asking the people how they felt about the proposition. One man answered our questions as follows: He signed himself 'Pure-I-Ten,' and gave his residence as 'Psalm street, Salvation avenue.' Under the heading of 'Remarks and Suggestions,' he said: 'Make it a crime to smile. Close up all the theaters. Don't allow dancing. Make every one go to church for his soul and to the cemetery for his recreation.' I guess he was sincere about that. He really thought that our movement was simply a mask for a prohibition movement in the city of Los Angeles. It has not turned out that way. The city of Los Angeles has an exceptionally good regulation of the saloon business; the saloons in Los Angeles are limited to 200. That is enough. But I do not hear of anybody dying of thirst in Los Angeles. The saloon people are allowed to conduct their business so long as they conduct it decently; when they

do not conduct it decently, their licenses are revoked. As each license under that system is worth from \$10,000 to \$20,000, they are very careful to conduct their business so that their licenses are not revoked. Hence, we think we have the liquor business under exceptionally good control in the city of Los Angeles.

A Good Government "Machine"

"After this campaign, we formed the 'Good Government Organization.' The City Club and the Municipal League were not political organizations, and we felt that we needed an essentially and avowedly political organization for the purpose of getting good government. We recognized that if we were going to beat the old machine finally and completely, we would have to build up a better machine. The difference between our machine and theirs was that the former was trying to do work for the people and the latter was trying to do work for the corporations. So we built up through the 'Good Government Organization,' which has a club and a well-recognized precinct committeeman in every precinct the machinery for the promotion of good government politics in the city of Los Angeles.

"Whenever I hear the question of organization discussed, I think of the story of the man who went into a very tall building in the city of New York to ask for alms. He started at the top of the building. He went up in the elevator, but he did not come down that way. He tackled the proprietor first, but the proprietor was not in an alms-giving mood that morning, so he gave the beggar a kick down stairs. When he got to the next landing, a big husky porter happened to come by. Taking his cue from the proprietor, the porter kicked him down the next flight of stairs to the landing below. There a big messenger boy happened to see him and thinking he would shove a good thing along, he kicked him down to the next landing. So by successive steps he was shoved along from one landing to another until he finally found himself in the middle of the street. When he had picked himself up and felt himself all over and found that no bones were broken, he stroked his beard and gazing back at the build-

ing, said: 'What a system! What an organization!' That is the way we have made the machine feel out in California. We do not break any bones, but we have broken up the machine. They give us credit for having a better organization than they *ever* had.

"The financial part of good government work is always very difficult. We organized a good government fund to take care of the financing of every worthy movement tending to the improvement of political and governmental conditions. When we want a few hundred or a few thousand dollars, we don't pass the hat as we used to do, because we found that to be a very irksome and bothersome performance—not for the fellows who asked for the money, but for the fellows who were asked. Now we say to Mr. So and So: 'How much do you give a year for this kind of work?' 'I give a thousand dollars.' 'We will sign your name here then for a thousand dollars. We won't ask you for another cent. You can pay it in four quarterly installments.' He says: 'That is all right,' and so we sign his name. He pays his \$250 quarterly and we don't have to bother him any more. That fund covers all sorts of public activity in the city of Los Angeles. We have a guaranteed fund at the present time of about \$25,000 per annum. That is all we need. We could get \$50,000, if we had to have it. The fund is simply a clearing house for the financial part of the civic endeavor along good government lines.

The State Campaign

"Our big fight, when we finally re-deemed the state, was in this last campaign in the fall of 1910. We had a direct primary law which we wrested from the machine as the result of our first campaign. We put some good men in the legislature, and the machine knew that it had to give us a direct primary law. The law which they gave us was cumbersome, but it answered our purpose. It was just as useful to us as it was to them; they could not do any better work under it than we could, although it was clumsy. Through that direct primary law we nominated our candidates. Our candidate for governor received over 100,000 votes, although his nearest

competitor got only 60,000. We nominated Hiram W. Johnson for governor of California. He went all through our nine hundred miles of coast line, into almost every hamlet and city and village in California. He had only one thing, one speech, with which he waged his campaign. At the end of his speech, he said: 'I am going to be the next governor of California and, when I am governor of California, I am going to kick out of office William F. Herrin and the Southern Pacific interests. Good-night.' That took all right and he was elected. He is 'the real thing,' gentlemen, as you will recognize when I tell you the sequel of the story. He got the nomination and he went on in the campaign and made the same speech after the primaries that he made before. Everybody in the state understood before the election what he was going to do. He was elected. We elected, besides the governor, the lieutenant governor and a majority of the legislature. We made a clean sweep. We redeemed California at that election.

"We had against us all of the old element, the old machine, the utility corporations and the liquor interests, which made an especially vicious fight on our candidate for lieutenant governor, who presides over the Senate and appoints the Senate committees.

No Campaign Obligations Made

"Having been elected chairman of the state central committee of the Republican party and having managed that campaign, I know something about how it was conducted. It was conducted as cleanly as it is possible to conduct a political campaign. Every cent expended was put up by people who had absolutely nothing to gain, but who did this for unselfish, patriotic reasons and who wanted nothing in return but good government. We were offered all sorts of money by the liquor interests who wanted only friendly consideration in return. We told them we could assure them of nothing but a square deal; we didn't get any money.

"We were offered money by the governor's staff. Until Governor Johnson cut them out, there were thirty or forty 'ballroom colonels' on the staff. Their

spokesman said to me: 'Mr. Lissner, it is usual for the governor's staff to pay a certain amount for the campaign. I will be glad to undertake to collect that for you. I have always done it. Of course, you know how it is; what we want is the assurance that the governor will give us friendly consideration for reappointment.' He handed me a list of about seventy-five persons. I said, in reply to him: 'We will not enter into any obligations.' He replied: 'Under those circumstances, I could not undertake to raise the money.' I said: 'Very well.'

"Then the employes of the harbor front in San Francisco, who were always accustomed to 'putting up,' raised a few thousand dollars and brought it to me. I said to them: 'Turn it back; we don't want any money from our employes who are under civil service or who will be if they are not now. We have a platform calling for civil service. We do not propose to do anything that is not in line with that platform.'

"We managed to scrape up enough money from people with whom we did not enter into any obligations to enable us to make the campaign. Hiram Johnson was elected governor of California without a single pledged obligation or promise having been made by him or on his behalf. He took his office with an absolutely free hand.

Platform Pledges Fulfilled

"Another innovation was with regard to our party platform. Party platforms are usually ornamental things, a little molasses set out to catch flies. Ordinarily a pre-election promise has no connection with a post-election performance. In our case we thought it had. The first thing the chairman of the Republican state central committee did after election was to call together the members elected to the state legislature, the members of the state central committee and the progressive newspaper men of the state in San Francisco—in all about five hundred persons. He told them that they had to make good; that they had promised the people a great many things and that they could not prepare the right sort of legislation after the legislature had convened. He told them that scientific legislation must be prepared, not hastily

but calmly, by experts. It should be handed to the legislature with the sanction of the Republican state central committee, with the recommendation: 'Here is something you can do as you please with, but we recommend it to you; it is carefully constructed work.' The chairman of the committee was authorized to appoint committees for the purpose of preparing such legislation. Committees were appointed for every prominent platform plank.

"Our committee on conservation comprised such men as former Governor Pardee, William Kent, Francis J. Heney and Chester H. Rowell. That committee employed as secretary a specialist, to whom they paid a couple of thousand dollars, I believe, to gather together all the data available. He was at their service not alone from the time of his appointment, but all during the session of the legislature. That committee offered some very good conservation legislation and the legislature as a result of its work appropriated \$100,000 to make an inventory of our natural resources so that we could find out what we had left.

The "California Outlook"

"It may interest you to know about another little thing we did. We started a weekly paper in California known as the 'California Outlook,' which is supported by the good government people throughout the state. We will soon have it on its feet. I have a copy here which shows the pictures of our two insurgent congressmen, William D. Stephens and 'Billy' Kent. We think a lot of 'Billy' Kent in California, and I believe the people of the United States are going to think a lot of him before he gets through with that little job in Washington.

"Our Legislature got down to business and it elected Senator Works on the first ballot to the tune of five to one. It did not cost anything except the hotel bills for a few people and \$13.44 for telegrams to get some of our leaders up to Sacramento to use moral suasion on the Legislature. After it was all done, Senator Works, who is a Christian Scientist and a good man, out of the affluence of his heart, treated to lemonade and cake. I observe that Senator LaFollette has in-

troduced a resolution into the Senate calling for a committee of inquiry into the Lorimer episode, and he has suggested that Senator Works be chairman of that committee. If Senator Works is chairman of that committee, you will get down to the bottom of things. Senator Works was formerly one of the chief justices of the state of California, one of our leading lawyers, a relentless cross-examiner. He is as cold as he can possibly be and he won't give a jot or tittle. If there is anything to be found out in regard to that incident and Senator Works is made the chairman of the committee, it will be found out.

A Record of Achievement

"I am going to read now a catalogue of what that Legislature accomplished. They worked very hard for ninety days from early morning until early morning. I could never understand how men could work at all as they did. They passed a thousand bills up to the governor and I don't know what he is going to do with them. But here are some of the things they did and which were called for in our platform:

"They adopted the Oregon system of the election of United States senators.

"They passed a resolution in favor of the Oregon system for the election of United States senators, which was transmitted to Congress.

"They greatly simplified our direct primary election law.

"They abolished the party column and straight ticket voting in our final election.

"They established a non-partisan judiciary. The names of our candidates for judge appear on the ballot now without any party's designation whatever.

"They went as far as they could in adopting direct legislation, the initiative, referendum and recall. Wherever they could adopt it without constitutional amendment it was done; where constitutional amendments submitting those propositions to the people of the state were required, these were adopted. Our recall includes the recall of the judiciary. Some of you may not agree with that, but that is another story and we won't take time to discuss it today. I believe in it.

"They shortened the ballot. Some people think they did not go as far as they should have gone in this matter, but they abolished the election of such minor positions as state printer and clerk of the Supreme court.

County Home Rule

"They adopted, as far as possible, a scheme of county home rule so that our county government instead of being directed from the state capitol, as heretofore, can be governed locally. In other words, the counties will be able to do as the cities do, adopt a charter for their own government.

"They adopted a scheme for commission government in small cities.

"They adopted a large number of measures which will provide for the revision of criminal procedure in the state of California—a very necessary reform.

"They adopted a constitutional amendment looking to the establishment of civil service throughout our state government.

"They adopted measures providing for better business methods in our state government; for a state Board of Control to supervise the expenditures of our various institutions, instead of leaving this task to innumerable commissions throughout the state.

"They adopted the conservation legislation of which I spoke, and also other legislation which will enable us to preserve our water power and to prevent its neglect.

"They adopted an eight-hour law for women and a resolution submitting to popular vote a constitutional amendment providing for woman's suffrage.

"They adopted an employers' liability act.

"They adopted railroad legislation increasing the powers of the State Railroad Commission and passed constitutional amendments to be submitted to the people providing that when our cities want to have their utilities placed under state regulation, they can do so under the State Railroad Commission, as in Wisconsin.

"They adopted a resolution favoring the income tax. One thing which they did not do, although San Francisco, which is dominated by the labor element, wanted them to do it, was to pass jingo anti-Jap legislation. That was held down.

"That, it seems to me, gentlemen, is a pretty good record for one session of the legislature. I believe it verifies what we have said, that California has really been redeemed." (Applause.)

PROPOSED CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

In February of this year the Chicago Real Estate Board, having endorsed the proposed constitutional amendment for revenue reform, called a conference of civic organizations for the purpose of promoting the interests of that amendment before the State Legislature. The directors of the City Club having received an invitation to this conference referred the subject to a special committee and this committee, while favoring the tax amendment, advised that, in view of the three to one vote at the November election for the submission of a constitutional amendment for the initiative and referendum, and since an amendment to but one article of the constitution can be submitted at one time, the initiative and

referendum amendment should be given the right of way by the present Legislature. The directors approved this report and thereupon refrained from final participation in the action of the conference mentioned.

At the hearing before the judiciary committee of the House, March 22, on the proposed initiative and referendum amendment, the City Club was represented by a special committee, consisting of Mr. S. S. Gregory, Mr. Thomas W. Swan, Mr. Harold F. White and Mr. F. B. Johnstone, in support of the proposed submission of that amendment. Dr. Favill, president of the club, also sent the following telegram:

"In behalf of the City Club of Chicago

I urge favorable report by House judiciary committee on initiative and referendum constitutional amendment. In view of the platform declarations of both parties, the specific pledges of members of the Legislature and the popular vote on the subject, it seems to me that good faith absolutely demands this action."

It may be of interest to note that the Republican state platform adopted last September contained the following plank, namely:

We favor an amendment to the constitution providing for the initiative and referendum.

The Democratic state platform adopted on the same day contained the following plank:

As the first step toward the restoration of representative government in Illinois, we favor the submission and adoption of an amendment to our state constitution, providing for direct legislation by means of the initiative and referendum.

A majority of the members elected to the Legislature pledged themselves in writing to favor the submission of an initiative and referendum constitutional amendment.

At the election of November 8th the following question was submitted on the little ballot, namely:

Shall the next General Assembly submit to the voters of the State of Illinois at the next following state election an amendment to the state constitution, providing for the control of legislation by the people, by means of the initiative and referendum; said amendment to provide for the initiation of legislation upon a petition of 8 per cent of the voters, and for the reference of legislation upon a petition of 5 per cent of the voters, the action of the majority of the electors voting to be final; thus restoring to the people the power they once held, but which they delegated to the General Assembly by the Constitution?

The affirmative vote on this question was 447,908 to 128,398.

The action taken in behalf of the City Club on this subject has involved no expression of opinion upon the merits of the initiative and referendum. As stated in Dr. Favill's telegram, it was based solely upon the notion that party and individual pledges taken in a campaign ought to be redeemed, that the demand of the people as expressed in the little ballot vote should be recognized and that the amendment in question should therefore be submitted, to the exclusion of any other amendment, to the electorate at the next general election for a decision by the voters.



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HOUSEHOLD PESTS AND THEIR RELATION TO PUBLIC HEALTH

About two years ago, at the instance of the City Club Committee on Public Health, a conference of certain officers of the City Health Department and others interested in the improvement of public health was called to consider the question of the mosquito nuisance in its relation to the public health. At this conference a special committee consisting of Dr. J. A. Britton and Mr. C. B. Ball was appointed to continue the investigation of this subject. Later the functions of the committee were extended to include the study of household pests in general, with particular reference to house-flies and rats. The committee, in the course of its investigation, gathered considerable published material which is now in the files of the City Club library. Recently it made a report to the Public Health Committee of the City Club.

As an outgrowth of this investigation and at the suggestion of the Health Committee a public meeting of the club was arranged for April 21st, at which this matter should be discussed. This meeting was addressed by Prof. S. A. Forbes, state entomologist, who has had general supervision of a series of investigations of the house-fly and the mosquito in the Chicago region; by Mr. C. B. Ball, chief sanitary inspector of the city, who spoke of the work of alley cleaning in its relation to this problem; by Dr. George B. Young, of the Public Health and Marine Hospital service of the United States, who discussed the health dangers from the rat and the campaigns for the extermination of this pest in San Francisco; and by Mr. Emmons J. Alden, ward superintendent of the Twenty-first ward, who gave a general background to the

question in explaining the organization and workings of the Street Department. Prof. Anton J. Carlson, of the City Club Committee on Public Health, who presided, said:

"I believe it is true, as a rule, in Chicago, that an alley back of a \$20,000 home is no better kept than an alley back of a \$500 cottage. As a rule, alleys are unpaved and are repositories for all kinds of filth and decaying animal and vegetable matter, which has long been recognized as a menace to public health. The remedy for this condition is, of course, a matter of dollars, but it is primarily a matter of intelligence, interest and co-operation. How this intelligent interest and co-operation is to be best secured will be told us by the speakers today."

Prof. S. A. Forbes

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: As I understand the subject today, it is primarily a discussion of the house-fly problem in the city. I have been brought here as an entomologist, interested in this problem not only here but elsewhere, to introduce the matter by presenting some entomological facts upon which the whole subject turns and also to give you some details drawn from the observations and experiments which we have made here in the city during the last two years.

"I have put upon the wall a chart, which shows the successive stages of the life history of the house-fly. You see it first in the larva stage, a footless, headless maggot. This changes, in the breeding place of the maggot itself, without migration, into this dark brown, leather-covered body. Within its envelope it

gradually changes to the adult fly, which comes out full size and with full wings. The fly then lays the eggs and the process is repeated.

"The rate of multiplication of these creatures is an important item in their life history. They begin to multiply, in ordinary years, in May and continue up to and through October. A single house-fly may lay 600 or 700 eggs, and the time necessary to carry a generation through from the egg to the adult is such that there may be fifteen or eighteen successive generations in a single summer. You will see consequently the almost incalculable possibilities of increase in this insect.

The Fly as a Scavenger

"Now, the first point I would like to make with regard to the house-fly is that the fly is not in itself directly an injurious insect. It has had a great many hard things said about it by all of us, yet we ought to bear in mind the fact that, in the larva stage, it is a scavenger, feeding upon those substances which we never ought to allow to lie in the open, where they are accessible to insects.

"In the adult or winged condition, it is a sanitary inspector and to a certain extent a police officer, reporting to us by its presence in our houses and in our restaurants the fact that in the neighborhood there are deposits of material which ought never to be allowed to lie in public, in which the fly is bred and in which it will presently lay its eggs. If we neglect the warning thus given to us, it proceeds to punish us severely, because it has judicial powers. It will bring back to us the germs of diseases—not of its own diseases, for it is not itself the victim of any diseases that are contagious to mankind, but of our own diseases, the spread of which we have encouraged by permitting these deposits of waste matter to lie about in places where they ought not to be.

"It does not seem to me that we ought to discredit the house-fly too severely. We ought to recognize the fact that if we act according to its admonitions, we will be able to relieve ourselves of some of the most serious sanitary conditions which beset us in city life.

"Three years ago, we first began practical work on the study of the house-fly problem, moved thereto by the fact that, in the central Illinois town in which I have my office, an ordinance was passed attempting to control the house-fly pest, based upon a recommendation made by the United States Department of Agriculture with regard to the management and disinfection of stable wastes. Our investigations were therefore directed in the first instance to the sufficiency of these recommendations, and in the second instance to the possibilities of improvement.

The Fly Nuisance in Chicago

"The following year we carried the investigation into the city of Chicago. One of my assistants, who was stationed up here, gave the greater part of the months of August and September, 1909, to an investigation of this problem. The investigation was confined to the region of the Stock Yards to which our especial attention was directed by the Health Commissioner, with whom, of course, we had many conferences in the course of this work. We knew that in the residence portions of the city and downtown this problem was of minor importance, but that in those parts of the city where the people were least likely and least able to protect themselves—as in the Stock Yards region—we would find the unfavorable conditions most pronounced, most emphatic.

"In the first place, we made an inspection to see where and under what conditions flies were breeding most rapidly and to see in what places and under what circumstances those conditions were most prevalent. We also undertook a long series of experiments, intended to determine by what means, other than the ordinary sanitary measures, the house-fly pest could be restrained.

"I want to read a page or two from the report of my inspector, showing a sample of the conditions which he found.

A month's work in the vicinity of the stock yards, done during August and September, 1909, showed that the alleys were in an unsanitary condition. Garbage of all kinds was being thrown into them and, where garbage cans were in place, the lids were seldom on. Flies were breeding very abundantly in this alley garbage. Manure was commonly placed in boxes of some kind, but these were hardly

ever covered, and they were heaping full and overflowing. Every one found was swarming with house-fly maggots. Dead animals were quite common, as were also deposits of human excrement.

Flies at the Dumps

Both city and private dumps were in bad condition. At the former, house flies were breeding abundantly in miscellaneous garbage, principally decaying vegetation, and also in horse manure, a load of which was occasionally pitched out into these garbage dumps. Some of the private dumps were even more obnoxious, because located nearer to dwellings. In one of the packing-house dumps near Forty-fifth street and Ashland avenue, sawdust from slaughter houses contained scraps of meat, wool and remains of lunches of the workmen, and sooner or later became much infested by fly maggots. About 75 per cent of the house flies from this stock yards region were bred in horse manure, and the remaining 25 per cent mainly in vegetable garbage.

Along railroad tracks at West Forty-fourth street were dumps containing principally dead chickens and chicken manure, the cleanings of poultry cars, all swarming with maggots. On West Forty-seventh street was a dump composed mainly of kitchen garbage, with flies breeding abundantly in decaying vegetation. City dump at West Forty-fourth street in same condition. Children resort to these dumps and pick out pieces of loaves of bread and other partially spoiled garbage, taking it home to eat. They also eat spoiled bananas, muskmelons and the like, which they find in these dumps. In an alley in this section manure was usually placed in boxes, but not so constructed as to exclude flies. Occasionally it was thrown on the ground in the alley. Most of the garbage was in piles back of the houses, covered with swarms of flies and containing myriads of maggots. Saloons also throw luncheon refuse into the alleys, and house-fly maggots were breeding in this.

August 16, 1909.—Made a general trip over the stock yards. On the east side, near the offices and packing houses, conditions were, on the whole, acceptable. The streets are paved and well swept, but in some of the alleys where there is a board driveway, rubbish, containing fly maggots, falls through the cracks, collecting under the boards. Infested manure scattered on the ground near the manure pit of the packing company's stables. Flies abundant along the porches where meat is delivered. Small dump of malodorous matter, said to be sweepings from one of the buildings, mixed with sewage, swarming with maggots. Small piles of sawdust with maggots breeding in them. Alleys in area bounded by Ashland avenue and Loomis street and West Forty-fifth and West Forty-seventh streets contained meat, carcasses, human excrement, manure, and garbage generally infested with fly maggots. Few garbage cans, slops being thrown into the alleys. Five or six open manure boxes beside a milk depot.

Methods of Extermination

"I will give you the results of some experimental work that we did, to see how house-flies might be killed without serious loss of the fertilizing quality of the manure. Chloride of lime applications have been frequently recommended and were prescribed by ordinance in the city of Urbana, as above stated. We tested the chloride of lime method thoroughly with the following effect: We found, in the first place, that when the living larvae were sprinkled with chloride of lime, they were killed, but that when twelve pounds of the chloride were mixed with three bushels of stable waste, in accordance with the formula prescribed by the United States Department of Agriculture, 473 house-flies came out in the winged condition, as against 447 from a like quantity of manure not treated at all. In other words, we got just a few more house-flies from the manure which had been treated than from that which had received no treatment at all. Applying the prescriptions of the Urbana ordinance, we obtained the same result. So it was with all the other experiments made with chloride of lime, applied in any of the proportions which have been recommended for the purpose. I regret to say that this method is recommended in one of the city leaflets now being circulated.

"Later, using three pounds of what is known as high calcium lime, to fifteen pounds of manure, we killed 940 larvae out of every 1,000. That is, in the untreated manure, 3,083 larvae matured into flies, as against only 184 in the treated manure.

"Using two pounds of iron sulphate in a gallon of water to fifteen pounds of manure, we killed 941 larvae per 1,000; that is, from the untreated manure, 6,679 flies were developed; from the treated, only 395.

"With a pound and a half of common salt in a gallon of water applied to twelve pounds of manure, we killed 888 larvae per 1,000, obtaining from the untreated lot 7,227 house-flies and from the experimental lot, 807.

"The cost of any of these applications in actual operation would amount to from a cent and a half to two cents per day per horse.

"With one ounce of carbon bisulphid evaporated in a closed box, we killed 99 per cent of the larvae in twelve pounds of manure. This would cost less than a cent per day per horse.

"I don't give these facts as indicating that final results have been obtained, but as indicating that we are clearly within reach of a method of treating these stable wastes, which contain the larvae already hatched in a living condition, successfully and at an expense which makes it entirely practicable.

Extermination by Exposure

"I will mention one additional experiment, because it has to do with the possibility of killing the house-flies by simply spreading the manure infested by their larvae upon the ground in the open air. We tried that scheme by putting a half an inch layer containing only house-fly larvae on the bare ground in the sun, leaving it there for seven days. After that time, it yielded 105 house-flies, while the control experiment gave 619. That is, by mere exposure of the infested manure to the sun and the open air, so that it could dry out promptly, we killed 830 larvae per one thousand. In a similar operation, ten quarts of material were used and spread an inch deep; after three days' exposure it yielded 267 flies, while the control gave 971, a destruction of 725 per thousand. That method is thus shown to be a fairly effective but not a completely effective measure.

"To determine the distance to which house-flies travel, we trapped many thousand flies, sprayed them with a harmless chemical solution and then released them. Twenty-four hours afterwards millions of flies, caught upon sheets of fly-paper at various distances, were sprayed with another solution, which gave a red color when mixed with the first. All of the released flies caught on the fly-paper were distinguishable by this color. By this means we found that flies can travel a distance of about two and one-half city blocks within twenty-four hours. Time failed for repetition of the experiment, but this method will be used this season on a large scale." (Applause.)

Charles B. Ball

"It was expected that I should say something in detail of the alley conditions and the methods of control which we are trying to exercise, and also something with respect to our work within private property.

"The ordinances of the city of Chicago draw a very clear line of jurisdiction between the public space, such as streets and alleys, and the private space. The Health Department has, under those ordinances as they are framed, practically no jurisdiction over any public space. It is only through the courtesy of our friends who have such jurisdiction that we are allowed to exercise our prerogative of getting over their side of the line to some extent.

"During 1910, the department required 348 manure boxes to be provided and 825 heaps of manure to be removed. We have no data as to how large a proportion of that activity was confined to the private space, but I presume that it would not vary much from 90 per cent. Perhaps 10 per cent was under alley jurisdiction.

"There has been marked co-operation between the Health Department and the Street Department within the last two or three years. Dr. Evans has personally devoted much time to a study of alley conditions in the various wards, to conferences with the superintendents, both in groups and singly, with respect to the general desire which we have to see an improvement in the conditions. I do not hesitate to say that anyone who is familiar with the alleys of Chicago will agree that great improvement has been manifested in the past two years; that the conditions at the present time are far superior to those that prevailed five or ten years ago. Yet there is still need of a great deal more attention.

Insanitary Manure Boxes

"In the past few days, in a number of parts of town, I have observed manure boxes full, overflowing and mostly without covers. Usually the boxes were in such a condition that tight covers would have been of little use on account of the poor construction of the boxes themselves. I do not know whether there could be found in the whole of Chicago

any tight box above the surface of the ground; it is possible that there are a few such. I do not know of any constructed of iron, which would seem to be the most desirable material, if we are to allow them to be exposed.

"This week I observed an alley of ordinary length, in which there were twelve collections of stable manure. Of these twelve, six were in boxes without any cover at all; three of the others had their covers closed; three had them open. In all of these cases there was an accumulation of littered manure around the box. I attribute this condition very largely to the lack of paving in our alleys.

"There are, in round numbers, 103 miles of paved alleys in Chicago and 1,300 miles of unpaved alleys. There are about 13,000 houses fronting on the alleys, or having their entrances through alleys. I do not believe that we can get any permanent solution of this question until we can get the alleys paved in the built-up districts. It seems to me self-evident that as long as the alley surface is irregular, violations of the ordinary requirements with respect to dumping accumulations upon the alleys will prevail. As soon as the alley paving is secured, it will be possible for all interested, the health inspector, the alley inspector, the police, to easily detect and clearly point out violations of the requirement that such refuse material shall not be dumped upon the alley.

"More than that, in removing such material after it has accumulated, it is impossible to fix any line of demarcation. It is impossible to say when you reach an alley surface, unless there is a paved surface to which you can work. I believe that one of the most desirable ends toward which we should work is the securing of some provision—probably a charter amendment would be necessary—to divide the expense of alley paving, which is now practically prohibitive in poor districts, between the general funds and the assessments, so that at least a third or a half of the expense of alley paving would be carried by general taxation. That would make the burden upon the property owners so much lighter that I think it would greatly encourage the paving of alleys.

Alley Grades Should be Established

"One of the obstacles which we encounter is the fact that grades have not been established in many of our alleys. If a property owner who is now maintaining a manure box above the surface desires to construct a masonry vault under ground, it is in many cases impossible for him to do that, because the departments that control those matters will not give him a surface to which he may build his structure on account of the fact that alley grades in general are not fixed. It would seem to be an entirely practicable solution of the difficulty to determine and establish alley grades for all those alleys in which the block is surrounded with paved streets. I believe it would also be practicable in cases in which perhaps one or two streets are lacking, but possibly not in all such. That would tend to definiteness of grade which would make the situation far better for those who desire to replace the wooden boxes with vaults.

"I do not believe, however, that we shall arrive at a satisfactory control of manure until we require a much more permanent and satisfactory type of enclosure. I think that we should at once prohibit the building of wooden boxes in alleys. I think we should require masonry construction, either cement or brick, or a good heavy iron box. There are some cities in which they make use of plate iron to an extent that we have not realized at all here. In Milwaukee, for example, you will see great numbers of heavy sheet iron garbage boxes and manure boxes. I believe that would be justified in many cases.

"The question as to whether or not it would be a justifiable provision by ordinance to require such construction to be kept out of the alley, affords room for difference of opinion. I believe that the manure box in the alley, in the public space, constitutes an obstruction that is undesirable and unnecessary. I think the proper solution will require that all such storage should take place on the private property. Then we will be able to keep the alleys much cleaner and we will be able to get a much more definite control.

"The conditions within the private property are very much as they are in

the alleys. Large piles of manure, perhaps a third of them are without any enclosures whatever. We are working with that problem as opportunity offers.

"There are many cases, in large establishments, where the manure should be handled on the second story. There are a number of places where the manure is stored on the second floor of a building and where, when a wagon is brought to take it away, it is allowed to come down through a chute. I consider that a perfectly satisfactory arrangement in the case of the larger stables.

Control of Private Alleys

"There are in the city of Chicago a few private alleys. These are most difficult problems of sanitation, because it is no one's specific business to care for them. The ownership in many cases is divided, each of the adjoining properties owning a small portion of the alley. It is very difficult indeed for us to get proper cleanliness and maintenance in such cases.

"There are even some private alleys within the loop district which constitute our most difficult problem of control. Of course, the Street Department cannot be expected to go in with their force and keep such alleys clean. It is very difficult indeed for us to secure control with so many owners to deal with.

"Within the buildings—stables especially—there is a great lack of proper floors. The Health Department last year and the year before that put that situation up to council committees in an attempt to secure a provision requiring impervious floors for stables. We were unable to secure legislation even providing that a new stable should have a concrete floor, much less that the nuisance should be abated. In the one case that we took into court, we proved conclusively that the floor was in very bad condition and that it was constantly littered with manure. The defense of the tenant was that it was necessary for him to maintain at least a foot and a half of manure above the floor surface so that his horses wouldn't break their legs. After a good many months we got that manure cleaned out and a new plank floor provided. That was as far as the ordinance could go with that tenant. He

had also allowed the building to get in bad condition. After we had him in court half a dozen times, he was released without even the payment of costs.

"As Professor Forbes said at the beginning, this is essentially a problem of cleanliness. We have brought some children now to a point where they understand that the reason that they wash their faces is not so much to look well, but because there is a genuine value in clean hands and faces from a health point of view. It seems to me we must stimulate greatly the public opinion, not alone of adults, but of the children. I believe the remedy lies largely with the public schools and the kind of instruction we give there respecting the house-fly and respecting these other matters which concern public health.

"It was my privilege, last month, to see two cities in the tropics, Colon and Panama, both of which are cleaner than any ward in the city of Chicago. I am sure that we can learn from Havana and Colon and Panama some things that we ought to know in the matter of sanitation and regard for the public health." (Applause.)

Dr. George B. Young

"In attempting on an occasion like this to speak of the rat as a domestic pest, I am confronted with a peculiar difficulty. If I undertake to really go into the subject, I cannot possibly finish in the time allotted; if I don't really go into the subject, I can't fill my time. In other words, if we take the conventional view of the rat and consider him as a not very serious annoyance, a source of some damage to the larder, of some loss to the corncrib and chicken coop, and very rarely an acute nuisance when he happens to die behind the wainscoting, then there is not much to be said. Most city people rarely think of him. How many of you gentlemen have seen a rat in the past year?

"On the other hand, if we really look into the matter we realize the enormous economic loss the rat inflicts upon the country as a whole and the appalling danger he is from the standpoint of the sanitarian. We realize that we have before us an enormous problem—one which may at any time tax the resources

of even a great city like Chicago. I will not attempt to speak of the direct economic loss occasioned by the rat, but I can assure you that those who have studied the matter think it well worthy of serious consideration.

"To the rat, then, as a disease carrier I will confine my remarks, and to only a cursory survey of one phase of that question. Nearly everyone has heard of the rat as a carrier of bubonic plague, the black death of the middle ages, but it all seems so foreign to our immediate interests that we don't give the matter much attention. Gentlemen, without being an alarmist, I assure you that the people of many towns in this country may wake some day and find this matter one of immediate and compelling interest. I will speak very briefly of the relation of the rat to plague transmission, of the consequences of this relation, of the concern of citizens of Chicago with this subject, and of what should be done about it.

"We speak in the language of modern sanitation of an animal or insect that carries disease to another animal or insect, or to man, as the host of the disease, or more accurately, as the host of the cause of the disease. In some cases, as in malaria and yellow fever, etc., the host does not have the disease himself but affords the place in which the cause of the disease undergoes certain changes which fit the cause for infecting man, the host then transferring the infective agent to man by biting or stinging him. In the second class, the host has the disease and so multiplies and spreads the causative agent. It is partly as a member of this last class of hosts that the rat spreads plague, but its really important role is in infecting through its blood the fleas by which it is infested.

The Rat as a Disease Carrier

"This susceptibility to plague is shown by a large number of other rodents. Indeed, the marmot of Mongolia is generally considered the original host of the disease and the various varieties of ground squirrels have, in this country, been proved to be the most persistent carriers of the infection. The rat, however, is the host with which the country at large is most concerned. This is due

to its general distribution, its almost uncanny cunning in avoiding capture, its habitual residence in human dwellings, and above all, to its habit of travel. Other rodent hosts are rather local in their habits. The rat travels all over the world by sea and land, by ship and by rail. If infected, he carries that infection to the uttermost parts of the earth; he leaves the seeds of death upon the grain, the goods, the places with which he comes in contact, and when he dies, the evil he has done lives after him and is spread by his fleas, who are driven by starvation to attack those who enter car or ship's hold. The bacillus of plague will live for a month in the intestine of a flea deprived of food.

"The consequence of this relation of the rat to plague is that where plague is introduced into a community the agents for its spread are everywhere, independent of the general excellent sanitary conditions that may prevail, independent of climatic conditions. He brings death to thousands alike in frozen Manchuria and the sweltering heat of India. Moreover, once the rats of a community are infected the eradication of the disease becomes a tremendous undertaking. Nocturnal and migratory in his habits, almost omnipresent alike in the slums, the costliest residences, the hotels, restaurants and public buildings, the rat, like the death he carries, has all times, all places and all seasons for his own. Even where the amount of human infection is small and by scientific measures can be made to disappear entirely for the time, the consequences of the presence of even isolated infection among the rat population entails such an almost endless fight for the eradication or serious diminution of rats as may well prove too great a financial load for a city to carry unaided. The mere maintenance of the necessary quarantine restrictions, of the detentions, of the interruption of night loading and unloading, of the disinfection of vessels and cargoes, and the like necessary measures may involve enormous financial loss to both the private and the public purse.

The Campaign Against the Rat

"When, even though the rat plague is eradicated, the infection has been passed on to the gophers, ground squirrels or

other rodents indigenous to a country, this problem becomes one of such magnitude as to tax the resources of a great state and even of the nation. As an illustration of this we can cite the experience of Sydney, Australia and of San Francisco. In the former, plague appeared five or six years ago, and although Sydney is a modern town with an advanced type of civilization and although the fight was unremitting, it was not until a little over a year ago that plague disappeared among the rats and the authorities have felt compelled to continue their work and are still killing and examining many thousands of rats each month.

"There is not time to sketch the history of plague in San Francisco and vicinity, but it is not amiss to say that the people of that splendid city have paid dearly for the folly shown when, seven years ago, they so bitterly attacked those who tried to make them realize their danger. Human plague was never present in San Francisco to more than a trifling extent; there were 159 cases mentioned in the 1908 report. The last case occurred three years ago, but the labor and expense of its eradication from among the rats have been enormous. Although no plague rats have been found for a long time, the work still goes on under the direction and control of the United States Public Health and Marine Hospital service. We keep several officers on this duty and a considerable force of assistants, laboratory workers and rat catchers are employed. We are still catching and examining in San Francisco and Oakland from 5,000 to 6,000 rats per week. In 1908, \$279,000; in 1909, \$337,000, and in 1910, \$141,325 were expended for this purpose by the Public Health and Marine Hospital service on behalf of the United States. I do not know how much the cities, counties and states have spent, but the sum is very large.

"In 1908 the Citizens' Association in San Francisco raised \$150,000 and the Board of Supervisors about \$200,000 in addition, which gives an aggregate expenditure—city and federal—for that year of pretty close to \$575,000, and this was but a part of it. In the prosecution

of the work under the direction of Past Assistant Surgeon Blue of the Public Health and Marine Hospital service there have been scores of buildings destroyed or reconstructed, hundreds of stables rat-proofed, thousands of back yards, cellars, basements, alleys, etc., covered with concrete. These and other expenses have largely exceeded the public expenditures.

Ground Squirrels Infected

"The problem we now have is even greater. I allude to the eradication of plague from ground squirrels. The plague among the ground squirrels is sub-acute or chronic in its type, but where, as in several cases during the past year, it is transmitted to man, it is as fatal as rat or flea borne plague. During the year ending June 30, 1910, we killed and examined 113,655 squirrels from about fifteen counties, and 354 of these from widely scattered points in ten of these counties were found to be infected. On account of the plague among the squirrels and the danger of infecting the town rats we are now engaged in the stupendous task of making a squirrel free zone about San Francisco and adjacent cities. A large force of hunters and trappers is kept in the field and in co-operation with the state we are covering from 2,000 to 3,500 acres a week with poison.

"How does all this concern Chicago? In the first place, anything that necessitates the expenditure in a single locality of from \$150,000 to \$400,000 a year from the United States Treasury affects the citizens of Chicago to some extent. Indirectly the check on commerce with the Orient and with Central and South America, concerns Chicago, but the immediate local interest is in the question: Why should Chicago escape infection with plague? There are plenty of reasons why—distance and lack of immediate intercourse being most important—but none of these would avail if a single plague infected rat took a notion to crawl into a car about to start for Chicago, or for some intermediate point. A dead rat or two would hardly attract much attention about a freight yard in Salt Lake, Ogden, Omaha or Kansas City, and so the thing can smoulder

along, possibly for a year or two, until some evil day it reaches a city with miles of decaying piling and ramshackle river frontage, with hundreds of miles of unpaved alleys, and thousands of rat infested stables, outhouses, frame tenements and the like, and in such a rudimentary state of civilization that as soon as it gets a Health Commissioner well trained, it ousts him and puts in a new one. (It is understood, of course, that in saying this I do not refer to either individuals or parties, but to an evil and dangerous system.)

How Chicago is Concerned

"It is difficult to speak of a danger like this without seeming to be a sensationalist, but gentlemen, I think I am within the truth when I say that it is the general opinion of those whose positions enable them to judge that there is a pretty good chance of plague reaching our large interior cities. If it should reach Chicago it would be likely to get a pretty good start among the rat population before it attracted attention. And then your work would be cut out for you.

"What should Chicago do about this matter? That is easy to say, but hard to get done, for it involves questions of garbage handling, alley paving and building regulation, and these mean large expense. To begin with, these things seem most important:

"First—Require that at least all new stables, outbuildings, wharves and the like be rat-proof.

"Second—Largely reduce the rat food supply by reforming the method of handling garbage.

"Third—And most important of all, inaugurate a campaign of education among the people until they understand that as long as Chicago is satisfied to spend 25 cents on its Health Department, where other cities spend a dollar, it will afford conditions favorable to plague development." (Applause.)

E. J. Alden

"As a preliminary it may not be amiss to briefly consider the method of appointment, duties and organization of those who have charge of the work of caring for our streets and alleys.

"The cleaning of streets and alleys, the removal and disposal of refuse and the

repair of streets, alleys and walks are under the supervision of the Bureau of Streets. This bureau is a part of the Department of Public Works, the commissioner of which is appointed by the mayor. At the head of the Bureau of Streets is a superintendent; subordinate to him are three assistant superintendents and thirty-five ward superintendents, one being assigned to each of the thirty-five wards into which the city is divided. All of these positions are under Civil Service and are obtained through competitive examinations.

"Doubtless, of all the city employes, the duties of ward superintendent most vitally concern the comfort and welfare of the average citizen. In fact, whatever pertains to the physical welfare of the ward may be included as part of his duty.

"Laborers employed for street cleaning and other ward work are under Civil Service. By ordinance eight hours of labor constitute a day's work. Wagons and teams employed in removal of street dirt, ashes and miscellaneous refuse are hired of individuals, but the gearing and boxes employed in the collection of pure garbage are owned by the city. The drivers are hired by the team owners and are not under Civil Service. The Commissioner of Public Works assigns the teams employed. To a considerable extent the owners of teams are also the drivers. The essentials of these teams are good horses, good harnesses and wagons of a specified form and appearance. The ash and dirt wagons must be provided with a good, whole cover, a scoop and a broom, which the driver is instructed to use as may be required.

"The ward force consists of the ward superintendent and under him foremen and a labor and team force. Each ward has a ward yard and office equipped with a telephone for receipt of complaints and imparting any information desired relative to street department matters.

"The work is performed by the city under the day labor system.

Methods of Cleaning Streets

"During no previous year in their history have the streets and alleys been so systematically and thoroughly cleaned as during the year ending December 31,

1910. All principal streets and for the most part those of resident character were cleaned daily under the block or patrol system, using push carts or metal boxes. The others and those in the outlying districts were cleaned with small gangs. The alleys were cleaned by gang method. The use of push carts or metal dirt receptacles placed at intervals along the curb, renders it possible to promptly remove the dirt piles before they are driven over, scattered, or blown about by the wind. The object of the block system, the keeping a laborer continuously sweeping a defined district, is to keep the street at all times clean and free from litter. The patrol system was supplemented by operation of one or more flushing machines in each ward, used chiefly on surface car line streets and others of heavy traffic, keeping these washed of all dirt and fine dust.

"For some years past the disposal of street sweepings has been an increasingly vexatious problem, owing to the scarcity of nearby dumps to any but those wards in the outlying districts. The large expense incurred by the long hauls thus necessitated, has greatly decreased the amount of street cleaning contrasted with what might have been performed with reasonable dump facilities. Relief has been found by contracting with the Illinois Central Railroad to remove the sweepings of the First ward, by the location of a loading station at Fifteenth and Loomis streets, and contracting with the Chicago Railways Company to furnish dump cars for its removal from adjacent wards. The dirt is removed to be used as a fill on outlying low lands. This method of disposal has already shown a great saving and is of great benefit toward the efficiency of the service, permitting shorter hauls and more rapid removal of street sweepings. The location of other loading stations is under consideration.

"During the year 1910, 2,168,084,775 square yards of streets and alleys were cleaned by hand, assisted by flushing with water; 982,912 cubic yards, or 232,848 loads of street sweepings were removed; 4,061,089 square yards of weeds were cut. The total expense of street and alley cleaning and cutting of weeds was \$910,580.20, or 42 cents per 1,000

square yards, the per capita charge being 41.6 cents.

Garbage Disposal in Chicago

"Since November, 1906, the city's garbage, animal and vegetable matter, separated from other refuse, has been treated in a reduction plant, located at Thirty-ninth and Iron streets, built and operated by the Chicago Reduction Company. For the purpose of collection and delivery the city has provided and owns 210 two-horse gearing with racks and 600 four-yard, water-tight, removable steel boxes. The boxes have six sectional iron cover lids, thereby concealing two-thirds or more of the contents during loading. The removable steel boxes are shipped by scow to the reduction plant, or where the garbage is in close proximity to the plant and it is carted there direct. The service is reliable, the collection in the congested wards being for the most part daily, while that in the outlying wards is less frequent.

"During the year 1910, there were delivered at the reduction plant 88,500 tons of 'pure garbage.' The cost for collection was \$341,662.12; cost of transportation via Chicago river, \$20,596.55; cost of final disposition at the reduction plant, \$47,500.00, making the total cost of \$409,758.67, \$4.12 per ton or 18.7 cents per capita.

"Ashes and rubbish are collected in wagons of six yards capacity. The service is tri-weekly in the more centrally located wards and less frequent in those more remotely located. The refuse is carted to clay pits or low places requiring a fill, in the outlying portions of the city and are generally from two to seven miles from points of collection. There are about fourteen such dumps.

"During the year 1910, 1,320,305 cubic yards or 265,811 loads of ashes and rubbish were removed. The total expense for removal of ashes and rubbish was \$773,645.34 or 58.35 cents per cubic yard, the cost per capita being 35.4 cents.

"During the year 1910, 34,604 dead animals were removed—by contract.

"From the revenue derived from the city's vehicle tax during the year 1910, amounting to \$560,213.00, all streets out of reserve, the condition of which warranted attention, have been maintained in

good repair. This includes asphalt, granite, brick, macadam and other kinds of pavement.

Progress in the Street Department

"Since the organization of the Bureau of Streets in 1898, marked improvement and great advancement have been made. During this time wooden garbage and ash receptacles have been eliminated and in their stead metal garbage and ash receptacles have been installed. The wooden boxes were never properly emptied, were to considerable extent in a broken condition and were a prolific source of breeding rats and multiplying of flies. The old cedar block alleys and the ground of the rear yards of houses were riddled by rats, developed as a result of the old wooden receptacles. Since the installation of metal refuse cans and since the alleys have been paved with hard pavements on a concrete foundation, rats have greatly lessened in number. Although the city ordinance requires covers for the garbage and waste cans, this is not readily enforced. The covers easily get out of shape, are lost or are not put on because of carelessness of both tenant and driver. Garbage is not in itself unclean. It is table refuse and its disposal should be regarded as an integral part of good house-keeping. Just as the plate is washed when it is removed from the table and cleared, so should the garbage cans when emptied.

"In the care of stable manure before its removal progress has also been made. In general, boxes with covers are provided for its reception in the unimproved alleys, and vaults with covers in the improved alleys. Notices are served and followed up in case the box or vault overflows. Manure is removed by private contract or by farmers for fertilizing purposes. Could there be a contract for its regular removal as in the case of New York City or could the city assume its collection at so much per horse, systematic attention would result and the fly and other nuisances resultant from its infrequent removal would be eliminated.

"Unfortunately the streets to some extent and the alleys quite generally in the congested wards of this city are either unimproved or beyond repair, thereby inviting carelessness and dumping of

refuse by citizens and thus cause a large increase in the number of flies and rats.

"In conclusion, let me suggest:

"(1) That increase of ward appropriation for the extension and betterment of the various ward service be encouraged and secured.

"(2) That some method be adopted to secure regular and systematic removal and disposal of manure.

"(3) That those having horses be compelled to construct all manure receptacles of imperishable material and keep these covered, whether on private premises or in public alley.

"(4) That the improvement of streets and alleys in the congested districts be extended and pushed.

"(5) That a campaign of education be inaugurated to secure co-operation on the part of the citizens and particularly those residents of the congested wards to refrain from throwing or sweeping refuse on the streets and alleys, to wash the refuse cans when emptied and to keep them covered.

"(6) That owners be compelled to concrete back yards where small, or if this is not practicable, to concrete that portion where the garbage receptacles set." (Applause.)

A New Fly Trap

CHAIRMAN CARLSON: "The speakers have emphasized the importance of the attack on the household pests through control of the breeding places. This is fundamental, but before we adjourn, I wish to call your attention to another line of attack on the fly at its feeding places. Professor Hodge of Clark University has invented and used the 'outdoor fly exterminator'—a simple, inexpensive and durable trap that can be attached to garbage can or window screen. The contrivance is described in *La Follette's Weekly* for April 15.

"The plan is simply the 'application of the vacuum cleaning method to fly problem.' The idea is to catch the fly; not to 'shoo' it away. The plan is so sensible and practicable that it seems strange we did not think of it long ago. The work for clean premises, clean alleys and clean streets is imperative; but that is a slow process of education, legislation and tax-

ation. The Hodge fly traps can be put to work tomorrow. They will catch the house-fly and at the same time attract the

householder's attention to the importance of the problem, thus aiding both directly and indirectly our work for a clean city."

The City Club Bulletin

Published by the CITY CLUB OF CHICAGO, 228 South Clark Street
DWIGHT L. AKERS, Editor

VOLUME IV

THURSDAY, MAY 4, 1911

NUMBER 9

Annual Reports and Election of Officers

Reports of Standing and Special Committees and Election of Officers and Directors

Annual Meeting of the City Club, April 15, 1911

The annual meeting and election of officers of the City Club for 1911 was held in the Club dining rooms on April 15th, President Henry B. Favill in the chair. The following reports of officers and of standing and special committees for the fiscal year ending March 31, 1911, were submitted:

Report of the Directors

Henry B. Favill, President.
Stephen T. Mather, Vice-President.
Spencer L. Adams, Secretary.
Harold H. Rockwell, Treasurer.

Alfred L. Baker,
Victor Elting,
John M. Ewen,
Walter L. Fisher,

Julius Rosenwald,
Thomas W. Swan,
Harold F. White,
Edward Yeomans.

At the last annual meeting, the retiring President presented to you the facts bearing upon the progress of the Club and its plans for the future. He called your attention to the very gratifying fact that, in spite of the most unattractive physical conditions, the Club had strongly advanced, both in membership and in work accomplished. The same encouragement is to be derived from the history of the past year; the Club has steadily strengthened and upon a basis solely related to its fundamental character rather than to its specific club features.

The doubt which existed at the time of President Fisher's retiring address as to our leasehold has been settled entirely to our satisfaction. We have our leasehold, we have subscribed the necessary money and our new building is well under way.

The successful accomplishment of these foundations is, of course, gratifying and reassuring, but it is very pertinent to call the attention of the Club to the fact that the work for the future, instead of being rendered simpler, easier or less, is of necessity going to be more complex, more difficult and, we hope, vastly more.

We are in position to weigh with considerable judgment our policies of the past and to forecast rather definitely our policies of the future. There has been no evidence of a disposition on the part of the Club membership or of the management to qualify the original judgment as to the character of the Club.

Under that conception the Club is a neutral organization, encouraging the fullest development and expression of individual views or of partisan affiliations, but with an absolute determination to hold the Club free from partisan alliances.

This is not at all a difficult thing to maintain. Now and then the activities of certain groups will achieve especial prominence, but it is to be borne in mind that our policy of welcoming all faiths and creeds, political and other, permits us to give the fullest liberty and facility to all substantial movements.

Our membership, it is to be hoped, will increase very markedly in the next year. We aim to be absolutely democratic in character. It has come to pass that the management has been able to arrange so that the annual dues need not be increased. We regard this as of great importance; first, as necessitating a simplicity of type fitting the ideals of the Club, and second, as presenting no financial barriers to the participation of anyone in the activities of the Club.

It is the strong feeling of the Directory that we shall maintain the utmost simplicity and economy in our management and that fellowship and homeliness shall always be regarded as against formalities and elaborate methods.

With these things in mind and followed as a rule, there seems to be no possible question that the Club will go on and prosper, justifying, day by day, unequivocally, its life and work.

HENRY BAIRD FAVILL,
President.

Report of the Civic Secretary

The Directors have by formal action provided for having the annual reports of the various civic committees of the Club presented to the Club by the chairmen of those committees at a luncheon meeting on Tuesday, April 25th. The civic committee plan has been in operation for five years. Heretofore the annual reports have been submitted to the Directors and preserved in the Club records, but have not been presented to the full membership. By the action of the Directors above mentioned, provision has for the first time been made for such presentation, and the members of the Club will therefore have an opportunity, a week from next Tuesday, to hear directly from the chairmen themselves of the various civic committees concerning the subjects dealt with and the results obtained by those Committees during the last fiscal year.

In view of this fact, therefore, this report will not deal with the actual work of those committees, but will simply give certain statistics indicating the degree of committee activity realized and the facilities provided by the Club to aid the Committees in their action. It will also indicate the extent of the regular operations of the Club Office.

In the committee plan as started in 1906, twenty-one civic committees were appointed, each comprising five members. Two years later the number of committees was increased to twenty-three and the membership of each was made to vary according to the number of people qualified and desiring to serve. During the last fiscal year that number was increased to twenty-four, including the Committee on Separate Judicial Ballot, which was created last fall.

Despite the limitations involved in the existing Club quarters, the membership and attendance of committees both increased in the last fiscal year. During the fiscal year ending March 31, 1910, 280 committee meetings were held with an average attendance for each committee of slightly over five, and a total attendance of 1,524, this total being 40 per cent of the possible attendance. During the fiscal year just closed, 274 meetings were held, with an average attendance of six, and a total attendance of 1,651, this being 35 per cent of the possible attendance. As compared with the figures for the last fiscal year, this shows a decrease of six, or two per cent in the number of committee meetings held, an increase of 127, or 8 per cent, in the total attendance, an increase of nearly one, or about 12 per cent, in the average attendance at each meeting, and a loss of 5 per cent in the possible attendance.

The seven committees holding the largest number of meetings for the fiscal year, 1910-11, with their respective records, were as follows:

Committee on Public Health, Dr. Sydney Kuh, Chairman..	29 meetings
Committee on Public Parks, Playgrounds and Baths, Mr. Frank I. Moulton, Chairman.....	21 meetings
Committee on Traffic and Transportation, Prof. L. C. Marshall, Chairman during the early part of the year and Mr. Samuel Dauchy, present Chairman.....	21 meetings
Committee on Labor Conditions, Mr. Harry F. Ward, Chairman	20 meetings
Committee on City Planning, Mr. Jens Jensen, Chairman..	17 meetings
Committee on Postal Service, Mr. Clement L. Clapp, Chairman	17 meetings
Committee on Water Supply, Drainage and Sewerage, Mr. Albert G. Miller, Chairman	17 meetings

The Civic Committees have a better grasp of their duties and capacities, keep their records in better shape and constitute a more potent agency in the public life of the city than has ever been true before. The annual reports of the entire 24 committees, including the Committee on Separate Judicial Ballot, now lie upon the table before the President.

The plan of maintaining for each civic committee a separate book of newspaper clippings upon the subject-matter of that committee, which was instituted during the previous fiscal year, has been continued by the office. In this way the office is able at each committee meeting to place before the committee chairman the appropriate newspaper clippings of his subject, including the papers of the morning of the meeting, carefully mounted and labeled. This is an important aid by way of information to the civic committees and is also serving as a valuable compilation on civic affairs.

The City Club Bulletin is now in its fourth volume.

The Club Library, which is maintained primarily as an agency to assist committees in their work, has, despite the limited quarters available, been materially enlarged.

The City Club Free Lecture Bureau, which was organized a little over a year ago, has been in successful operation during the fiscal year in question.

During the fiscal year there have been mailed from the office 29,852 postals, 17,539 letters, 4,434 bills and receipts, 20,215 Bulletins and 1,295 miscellaneous pamphlets, making a total of 73,335 pieces.

The executive staff of the Club is the same in number and in personnel as it was one year ago and consists of two stenographers, one bookkeeper, office boy, Civic Secretary and Assistant Civic Secretary.

I think it appropriate to express my own pleasure and satisfaction in the relations existing between all of us in that group. Mr. Akers, the Assistant Civic Secretary, has performed an increasingly important part in the administrative work of the Club and mention is due of the fact that Miss Corbyn has, during the year, prepared the volume entitled "Minutes of Directors' Meetings—Dec. 5, 1903, to Dec. 30, 1908," which is thoroughly indexed and will be of permanent value to the Directors.

GEORGE E. HOOKER,
Civic Secretary.

Report of the Public Affairs Committee

Stephen T. Mather, Acting Chairman.
Thomas W. Swan.

The chief duty of the Public Affairs Committee of the City Club is to have charge of the Club discussions of public questions.

During the fiscal year ending March 31, 1911, thirty discussions of this sort have been held, all of them at luncheon time. During the winter season they have usually occurred on Saturdays. At other times of the year they have usually

occurred on other days than Saturday. The dining room has always been practically filled or crowded on these occasions.

A classification of these discussions shows that nine of them dealt with Chicago matters, six of them with matters affecting the State of Illinois, six of them with national questions, and four of them with matters in other parts of the world. While, therefore, local subjects have been more often considered than any other class, at the same time the unity of modern life and the interest of members of the Club in matters beyond our own limits have been recognized in the indicated distribution of subjects.

The city questions considered have mainly concerned the improvement of physical conditions in Chicago; One was devoted to a report upon the second meeting of the National Conference on City Planning, held at Rochester in May last; one to the subject of housing reform; one to the proposed Calumet Canal for protecting our water supply; one to the arrangement of lines and routes to be carried out under the so-called "Consolidated Traction" Ordinance; one to the location of new recreation centers to be established on the West Side; one to the amount of the Health Department Appropriation; one to conditions obtaining in the Bureau of Streets; and one to the operation of politics in the selection of public employees.

Of the discussions devoted to state matters, one dealt with the soils of Illinois and their relation to the prosperity of the state, one with the status and work of the farmers' Grange, and five with the legislative reforms urged by the Peoria Conference and the Committee of Seven, demanded by large majorities under the Public Policy Act at the November election and now pending in the state legislature, namely, a Corrupt Practices Act, a state-wide civil service law, and the submission to the people of an Initiative and Referendum Amendment to the Constitution.

The subjects of the discussions on national questions were: the conservation movement; the progress of direct legislation, the tariff Act; the true function of the national judiciary; the child welfare movement in the country; and the commercial and political aspects of the Panama Canal.

The five discussions of conditions in other countries dealt with the military situation in Europe, German municipal progress, present political and social conditions in Turkey and the conditions of the people in Inner China.

The speakers have in their residences represented an equally wide field, one coming from Washington, D. C., one from Ohio, one from Oregon, one from Oklahoma, one from California, three from Wisconsin, three from New York, one from Scotland, one from Germany, one from Syria.

The committee has also during the year, in accordance with the rule of the Directors for such cases, acted upon several emergency matters, concerning which it was desirable that the civic committees should take prompt action, and in respect to which timely consideration by the Directors was not practicable.

STEPHEN T. MATHER,
Acting Chairman.

Report of the Committee on Publications and Lectures

Stephen T. Mather, Chairman.

A. W. Chase

Ernest Morehouse

Graham R. Taylor

Samuel R. Watkins

The Committee on Publications and Lectures would advise that the Bulletin has appeared during the year as usual. Plans have been discussed for enlarging its field of usefulness, but these have been deferred for the present and will be taken up for consideration again when the Club is in its new quarters and has more elbow room.

The Club's activities during the past year have been well recorded in the

public prints and the work of the Club is being recognized more and more by our Chicago newspapers as having a distinct news value.

An exhaustive and painstaking investigation, undertaken by one of our Civic Committees, has formed the basis for an important report, which will be shortly published under the auspices of the Club, and we believe it will prove of national value.

The City Club Lecture Bureau, organized a year ago, has received forty-three calls for speakers during the past year from thirty-seven different organizations, comprising ten Men's Church Clubs, eight Women's Clubs, seven Men's Clubs in suburbs, two Park Centers, Lewis Institute, the Chicago Normal School, Lane Technical High School, and sundry other Chicago organizations, as well as civic organizations in Milwaukee, Joliet and Oconomowoc.

The Bureau has furnished fifty-four speakers directly and has referred inquiries to several others, of which it has no record.

The records show that Mr. Jens Jensen and Mr. Sherman C. Kingsley spoke five times for the Bureau, Mr. Edward B. DeGroot, Mr. E. B. Woodworth and Mr. John L. Whitman, four times; Mr. Henry E. Legler, Mr. Graham R. Taylor, Mr. W. J. Bogan, Mr. George E. Hooker, Mr. George C. Sikes and Dr. W. A. Evans, three times; Mr. Walter S. Rogers, Prof. George H. Mead and Prof. W. E. Hotchkiss, twice; while the following gentlemen each spoke once: R. R. McCormick, F. F. Norcross, Charles E. Merriam, Charles B. Ball, John P. McGoorty, Henry B. Favill, J. Mullenbach, H. E. Smoot and Raymond Robins.

Civic organizations in other parts of the country have followed in our footsteps and have organized similar Bureaus. They have, in fact, paid us the compliment of following quite closely the form of our own printed pamphlet, outlining the scope of the Bureau's work. We feel that this work of the Lecture Bureau has only begun and that with further publicity it will offer an opportunity for a considerable expansion of its field.

STEPHEN T. MATHER,
Chairman.

Report of the Editor of the City Club Bulletin

Twenty-one numbers of the Bulletin have been issued during the year just ended; during the previous year thirty-one numbers were issued. The decrease is due in part to the fact that fewer discussions have been held and in part to the fact that some of the addresses at the request of the speakers, who had contracted their material for magazine publication, were not printed, and that others were withheld for later publication. There has been a corresponding decrease in the cost of publishing the Bulletin from \$2,090.64 to \$1,692.13.

The present circulation of the Bulletin is about 1,060, made up as follows: To club members, 920 copies; to libraries and a few individuals, not resident in Chicago, by a special subscription arrangement, 32 copies; to other organizations and publishers, in exchange, 54 copies; the rest are sent gratis to other civic organizations and a few individuals.

The value of the Bulletin as a permanent record of the addresses and discussions held at the City Club and as a means of keeping those members who cannot attend meetings in touch with the activities of the Club was commented upon in the Editor's report for last year. In this connection it is interesting to note that the City Club of Philadelphia and the City Club of St. Louis have recognized the value of such a publication and are now issuing Bulletins of practically the same character as our own.

Last year I recommended as a matter for consideration the advisability of using the columns of the Bulletin for committee reports and general club news in addition to the reports of addresses and discussions. That recommendation is renewed. There are at present no regular means of informing members of the general activities of the Club.

D. L. AKERS,
Editor.

*Report of the Library Committee**Edward D Tweedell, Chairman**C. T. Hallinan**F. D. Bramhall*

During the past year, in addition to routine matters, the Library Committee, at the invitation of the Council for Library and Museum Extension, considered plans for the representation of the City Club Library at the International Municipal Congress and Exposition to be held in Chicago from September 18 to 30, 1911, and several suggestions for an exhibit were made to the Board of Directors. These suggestions are still pending, awaiting an estimate of cost.

The report of the Librarian, which contains a statement as to the progress and use of the library during the past year, is appended.

EDWARD D. TWEDELL,

*Chairman.**Report of the Librarian*

During the year just ended the City Club library has continued to show very satisfactory growth. It has been necessary to provide a large amount of additional temporary shelving to take care of the new accessions. The shelf space required has increased, since a year ago, almost 50 per cent; in two years it has doubled. There are now in the library between 2,500 and 2,600 books and ninety-five boxes of pamphlets; last year there were 1,900 books and eighty boxes of pamphlets.

As in the past, most of this growth has been secured through generous donations by members of the Club, through gifts from other persons and organizations interested in civic work elsewhere, and through the accession of reports and other free material from public bodies and officials throughout the country. The expense for new books has been slight, as is indicated in the following statement of library expense for the year 1910-11:

New Books	\$ 62.16
Maintenance	332.00
Binding	57.15
	<hr/>
	\$451.31

The library is under obligations to Mr. Charles R. Crane for a donation of books, including a seventeen-volume set of Booth's "Life and Labor of the People in London"; to Mr. William Kent for several useful gifts of books and pamphlets and to Mr. E. R. Wright, secretary of the Illinois State Employers' Liability Commission, who has turned over to the Club the collections of the commission on the subject of workmen's compensation and employers' liability. An especially valuable part of this collection is a file—which the donor promises to make complete—of the typewritten minutes of the hearing before the Commission.

The files of pamphlets in the Library have been increasing rapidly. Much valuable civic material which escapes the larger and more general libraries is to be found in these files. Especially useful are the collections on City Charters, City Planning, Education, Gas and Electricity, Harbors, Wharves and Waterways, Public Health, Labor Conditions, Political Organizations, Nominations and Elections, Revenues, Expenditures and Accounting, and Traffic and Transportation.

The Club is also in possession of many valuable and interesting maps. Recently the Club secured at very low cost a slightly used map case, equipped with large portfolios, in which these maps may be preserved in good order and kept easily available.

The plans for the new building provide for much more complete and satisfactory library facilities than we now have. The library will be located upon the fourth floor in connection with the general offices of the Club. It will provide for immediate use about one-half more shelf space than is now required, but the plans are so drawn that, when necessary, it can be increased to between three and four times its present size.

D. L. AKERS,
Librarian.

Report of the Admissions Committee

A. A. Rolf, Chairman

Spencer L. Adams
Edwin H. Cassels
George E. Dawson
Charles Hull Ewing

George O. Fairweather
Stephen A. Foster
Arthur B. Hall
James F. Oates

The Committee on Admissions has, in general, met weekly, except during the summer months. Thirty-five meetings have been held with an average attendance of five members. The activities of the Committee and the movement of membership in the Club have been as follows:

Persons approved for membership.....	153
Persons invited to become members.....	126
Persons accepting invitations	112
Persons reinstated after resignation.....	2
Resigned	56
Dropped	9
Died	5
Membership, April 1, 1910.....	881
Membership, March 31, 1911.....	929
Increase	48

The growth of the Club, as can be seen from the report, has, under the adverse conditions, been quite remarkable, and indicates a strong public interest in the work of the Club. With the better facilities afforded by the new Club House, a large increase in membership will naturally occur.

The persons who have accepted invitations within the past year to become members of the Club have been such as are in entire sympathy with the purposes and objects of the Club work. The Committee hopes that the members of the Club, in proposing new members, will recognize the importance of suggesting the names of those who are interested in their civic and political duties.

A. A. ROLF,
Chairman.

Report of the Executive Sub-committee of the Building Committee

F. H. Deknatel, Chairman

A. G. Brozen
Frederick Greeley

W. A. Illsley
F. B. Johnstone

The new club building, as finally planned, provides for the members as follows:

- Basement—Billiard room for five pool or billiard tables and auxiliary coat room.
- First Floor (street level)—Reception room for women, coat room, cashier's office, cigar stand with humidor, and lavatory and toilet rooms.
- Second Floor—Lounge and reading room.
- Second Floor Mezzanine (rear)—Writing and toilet rooms.
- Third Floor and Third Floor Mezzanine—Main dining room and service.

Fourth Floor—General offices, library, private dining rooms (3), dressing room, with shower bath and lockers.

Fifth Floor—Grill, private dining rooms (4).

Sixth Floor (portion not rented)—Either private dining or general lunch room.

Public telephone booths, a house telephone system, pneumatic tube service between dining rooms and cashier's office and adequate elevator service are planned. Ventilation is provided for by means of three exhaust fans operating through ducts connected with the billiard room, toilet rooms, lounge, main dining room, kitchen and rear hall.

The cost of the building, ready for equipment, based on bids actually made and one or two items estimated, will be about \$143,000.00. On recommendation of this committee, the slow burning mill construction type of building, originally planned, was changed to fireproof construction, adding about \$7,500.00 to the original estimate of cost. This change, however, will lower the insurance rate sufficiently to cover the interest on this amount and extinguish the principal in twenty-five (25) years, besides adding materially to the comfort and safety of members and employes. It is estimated, further, that the life of a building of this type is longer and cost of maintenance less.

Work on the building has progressed to the point where the foundations are practically completed and the erection of the structural steel begun. Other contracts have been passed upon and awarded and are ready for the signature of the officers of the Club. With normal weather and no labor troubles, the architects promise to have the building ready for occupancy early next October.

Your committee fully realizes the need and importance of the early completion of the building and work will be pushed as rapidly as possible. One meeting and sometimes two are being held each week and every effort is being made to keep in close touch with the situation.

F. H. DEKNATEL,
Chairman.

Report of the House Committee

Edward Yeomans, Chairman

E. S. Fechheimer

George Higginson, Jr.

The House Committee, in submitting this report, refers to the Treasurer's report for data concerning cost of operating the present dining room and general house expenditures.

We have to thank the Directors and the Club membership in general for their consideration in declining to hold the House Committee responsible for conditions in the present building. It has been understood, of course, that we have been merely camping on the road toward permanent and suitable quarters.

What the new Club house will be has been stated in a very brief way in the Report of the Building Committee. The Club is to be congratulated on the location and on the arrangement and design of the Club house as shown in the plans of Pond & Pond.

It is the purpose of the committees having charge of the new building and of the architects to make this Club a highly attractive and comfortable place, with as much seclusion and coziness as is possible in any building of this nature.

The dining service will be three main kinds: A standard 50-cent table d'hôte lunch, an à la carte lunch, and a grill room lunch—also a la carte. This will allow for a range of lunch expenditure from, say, twenty cents in the main dining room to any degree of extravagance desired in the Grill Room. We therefore hope to meet the requirements of men of a variety of tastes and many degrees of affluence.

The Club proposes to operate a billiard room of not more than two tables to begin with, but more tables can be installed, provided the demand is sufficient.

The arrangements for cigars are large enough to enable the Club to make this a profitable business, and it is hoped that Club members will make it a rule to patronize this department.

A careful consideration of the plans will indicate more clearly than anything we can say what excellent use has been made by the architects and building committee of the space and in how many ways the comfort and convenience of the members has been safeguarded.

The Club will issue in a few days for distribution to members a pamphlet describing in considerable detail the entire Club building, with cuts showing general arrangement and some of the special features. We believe that with this exhibition, with the very low dues considering the facilities offered, and with the reputation of the Club as a center of disinterested civic usefulness in Chicago, the privilege of membership in the Club is likely to be sought by many hundred new men before the building is opened.

The House Committee desires in closing to acknowledge their obligation to the faithfulness and trustworthiness of the people who have attended to the physical part of the Club's work in these very unsatisfactory surroundings—to Miss O'Malley, to James McKinstry, and to the waitresses, cooks and kitchen help. There has been no occasion for any criticism; they have done as well as could be done under the circumstances.

EDWARD YEOMANS,
Chairman.

Report of the Finance Committee

Victor Elting, Chairman

Alfred L. Baker

Walter L. Fisher

In the annual report of last year reference was made to the method of finance theretofore employed by the Club, by which the general expense of operation was defrayed from the general funds of the Club derived from annual dues, and the public work was carried on by funds specially subscribed for that purpose. This method has been employed in part during the past year, but a more comprehensive plan of finance for the future is now being arranged. It is the plan of your committee to provide the fund for public work in the manner suggested in the last annual report. In that report it was stated that the method theretofore followed of securing subscriptions to the special fund from a few individuals seemed inexpedient. It was suggested that it was more consistent with the democratic spirit of the Club that the members at large should have the privilege of sharing in the expense of advancing the active program of work, and the suggestion was made that the President address a communication to the members, setting forth the purpose and necessity of the special fund, the plans of the club for the future and the probable cost of the work, and that subscriptions should be asked for from the members. This method was not pursued during the past year, owing to the uncertainty from time to time in the plans of the Club, but your committee now feels that the time has come for such action.

During the past year your committee has likewise been charged with the duty of providing funds necessary for the contemplated building operations. When the difficulty over the lease was finally adjusted, the Directors determined upon a more commodious Club building, involving, of course, a larger expense than that before contemplated. Your committee thereupon asked for subscriptions to the building fund, and at this time has secured subscriptions to the total amount of one hundred and fifty-seven thousand dollars (\$157,000). A larger sum will be required to completely equip the building for actual operation, but your committee feels that the members of the club who have not yet subscribed will promptly furnish the necessary funds when the matter is next laid before them.

Careful consideration has been given to the question of financing the Club

in its new quarters and plans have been adopted which your committee believes will attain a successful result. No increase in the annual dues is contemplated.

Victor Elting, Chairman.

Condensed Statement from the Treasurer's Report

CASH RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS.

1910-11.

Cash on hand April 1, 1910..... \$ 1,708.23

Receipts—

Membership dues	\$16,895.00	
Restaurant	9,324.31	
Subscriptions to Christmas Fund	644.92	
Culver Fund	1,218.43	
Blaine Fund—Educational Com. Investigation.....	558.50	
Building Fund	34,403.13	
Loans at Bank	4,500.00	
Miscellaneous	223.83	
		<hr/>
		67,776.12
		<hr/>
<i>Disbursements—</i>		\$69,484.35

Rent	\$ 4,800.00
Building maintenance	1,642.26
Office and house salaries.....	2,492.50
Office and house expense	1,571.08
Restaurant	11,238.25
Furniture and fixtures	477.85
Christmas to employes	573.77
New building	34,088.89
Loans paid	3,000.00
Miscellaneous	442.75
	<hr/>

Public Work— \$60,327.35

Bulletin	\$1,692.13
Library	451.31
Salaries	3,325.00
Postage	404.14
Sundry Committees	1,198.25
General	410.27
	<hr/>

\$ 7,481.10

\$67,808.45

Cash on hand March 31, 1911 \$ 1,675.90

Annual Election

Following the presentation of reports, the Nominating Committee, appointed by the Board of Directors in accordance with the by-laws and consisting of Messrs. F. I. Moulton, chairman, George C. Sikes, J. W. Hiner, E. H. Cassels and W. B. Hale, presented its report. The nominations of the committee were approved and the following officers and directors unanimously elected:

President—Henry Baird Favill.

Vice-President—Stephen T. Mather.

Treasurer—Harold H. Rockwell.

Secretary—Spencer L. Adams.

Directors—Alfred L. Baker, Victor Elting, Harold F. White, Clement L. Clapp.

Amendmen of By-laws

The following resolution, as set forth in the call for the annual meeting and recommended for adoption by the Board of Directors, was then submitted to a vote and unanimously adopted:

Resolved: That Section 1 of Article 1 of the By-Laws be amended to read as follows:

Section 1. Election to membership in the Club shall be by vote of the Committee on Admissions. Elected persons shall, on acceptance, be enrolled as members. The Board of Directors may, in their discretion, by resolution, prescribe an initiation fee of not to exceed \$20.00 to be in effect on or after October 1, 1911, and thereafter alter the same within that limitation.



The City Club Bulletin

Published by the CITY CLUB OF CHICAGO, 228 South Clark Street
DWIGHT L. AKERS, Editor

VOLUME IV

MONDAY, MAY 15, 1911

NUMBER 10

PROPOSED WEST SIDE PLAYGROUND SITES

On June 10, 1909, the Governor approved an act of the legislature authorizing an issue of bonds to the amount of one million dollars for additional small parks and pleasure grounds on the West Side of Chicago. Under the referendum provision of that act, the bond issue was submitted to the people of the West Side for their approval at the November election of 1910.

Prior to that election, the question of sites for the proposed new playgrounds being raised, a conference was held between the City Club Committee on Public Parks, Playgrounds and Baths and representatives of the West Chicago Park Commissioners for the consideration of this question. Later, on October 21, Mr. F. I. Moulton, chairman of the City Club committee, addressed a letter to the president of the West Chicago Park Commission with the following inquiry:

Playground Survey Suggested

I am directed by my committee to inquire whether it would be agreeable to your Board, by proper resolution, to assure the public that, in case the bond issue is voted, and before making the final decision as to the sites for the proposed additional small parks, you will take into consultation, in addition to the Board's accredited consulting landscape architect, a committee to be appointed by the Special Park Commission of the City of Chicago, which should make your Honorable Body a written report on the subject; and that there will then be given a public hearing by your Board, at which anyone desiring to be heard with recommendations or suggestions shall have an opportunity to appear. In view of the special and continued attention given by that commission to the question of small parks and playgrounds and their proper distribution our committee feel that your Board is entitled to their co-operation in this matter.

This letter was presented to the West Chicago Park Commissioners and on October 26 the secretary of the West Park Board replied to Mr. Moulton as follows:

The West Chicago Park Commissioners shall welcome suggestions in the matter of the selection of additional sites, not only from the Special Park Commission of the city of Chicago but from all bodies and organizations who can and are willing to give this Board enlightenment on this subject.

The Board further wishes to assure your committee that this matter will receive from it the same careful and painstaking consideration that all matters affecting the West Park System have heretofore received and are receiving at the hands of the Board. No final action shall be taken excepting after a careful study of the situation and after your committee, the Special Park Commission, and all other bodies or organizations have had an opportunity to be heard and offer their suggestions to the Board.

Investigating Committee Appointed

On November 23, following the approval of the bond issue, Mr. Moulton, again acting under authority of the City Club Committee on Parks, wrote a letter to the chairman of the Special Park Commission advising him that a meeting had been called by the West Chicago Park Commission to afford an opportunity for a public hearing on the question of playground sites, and also requesting the Special Park Commission, on account of its special qualifications for this work, to appoint a committee to make a study of the situation and to report its recommendations either to the City Club committee or to the West Chicago Park Commissioners at the proposed public hearing. The time being too short for a thorough investigation, no action was taken at the meeting on November 29, but subsequent to that date a committee was appointed by the Special Park Commission consisting of the following members: Edward A. Halsey, chairman; Frederick Greeley, Jens Jensen, Ald. Theo. K. Long, Francis T. Simmons, and Ald. A. W. Beilfuss, *ex-officio*.

This committee, after a careful investigation of population and health conditions, location of school facilities, etc., on the 7th of February presented a report to the West Park Commissioners recommending the following sites in the order of their preference, namely:

1. Site at Noble, Bradley, Holt and Blackhawk streets.
2. Site at Polk, Taylor, South May and Sholto streets.
3. Site at West 18th, South Wood, West 19th and South Lincoln streets.
4. Site at Hamburg and Claremont streets, Pleasant place and Irving avenue—this being an enlargement of Holstein Park.

On Saturday, March 11, to afford greater publicity with reference to this report, a meeting was held at the City Club for a discussion of the proposed sites. Mr. Edward A. Halsey, chairman of the special committee of the Special Park Commission, outlined the recommendations of that body, stating the reasons for the adoption of the proposed sites. Mr. William Kolacek, president of the West Chicago Park Commission, also spoke approving the recommendations of the Special Park Commission. Mr. Graham R. Taylor spoke with reference to the present status of the playground movement in Chicago and throughout the country. Mr. F. I. Moulton, chairman of the City Club Committee on Public Parks, Playgrounds and Baths, presided.

F. I. Moulton

"I was very much impressed by the remark of one of the speakers at the meeting of the Playgrounds Association held in this city recently, that children, as well as men and women, have a right to the constitutional guaranty of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Another idea presented at that meeting was that the business of a child is play. Play with the child is really serious business. Certainly, unless the children of the country can be permitted to develop along naturel and normal lines, the coming generation will not be competent to perform the tasks that will be at hand. Unless the cities of the country can in some way find the means to

give the children that opportunity for play to which they are entitled, they will fail to fulfill one of their greatest obligations.

"So it comes about that throughout the country, especially in the large cities, there is an increasing agitation for the creation of playgrounds for children. Chicago, fortunately, leads—or is at least equal to—any other city in the country in respect to what it has done toward the establishment of playground facilities. An issue of bonds to the amount of a million dollars to be used by the West Park Commissioners in providing additional playgrounds on the West Side was authorized by the people at the election last fall. The commissioners called an open meeting—to which they invited all citizens interested in the subject—to consider sites for those playgrounds. That meeting resulted in the appointment of a committee of the Special Park Commission to make a survey and a report on sites. We have with us today the chairman of that committee, Mr. E. A. Halsey, who has consented to speak to us about its work and about its suggestions to the West Park Commissioners."

Edward A. Halsey

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: As has been stated, I am here as a representative of the Special Park Commission of the City of Chicago. You are familiar with that commission and the work that it has in hand, and yet you will pardon me, I am sure, if in a sentence or two I recall to you the scope of the work which the commission is handling.

"We have forty-nine small parks, triangles and squares, ranging in size from one-fifth of an acre to ten acres—improved; about fifteen pieces of similar property—unimproved; a public comfort station; sixteen playgrounds with shelter houses and apparatus for play, gymnastic exercise and games. Through the city forester we have control of the parkways between the sidewalk and curbstone along about 2,700 miles of streets, on both sides; on 1,400 miles of improved streets and on 1,300 miles of unimproved streets. We have two bathing beaches on the shore of the

lake, which last year were used by 150,000 persons. Last year 3,000,000 children used the playgrounds—counting as the unit of use one single entrance into the playgrounds for the morning, the afternoon or the evening period. There are 100,000 trees on the streets of our city. Last year our forester's office directed the planting of 18,000 new trees, the removal of some 500 dead trees and the trimming of about 8,000 living trees needing attention.

"Because of the fact that the Special Park Commission has had much to do with the location and the operation of small playgrounds and parks all over the city, it was suggested by this club, I believe, that our commission might be of service to the West Chicago Park Commission in recommending locations for new parks on the West Side. Through the willingness of the West Park Commission to hear from the Small Park Commission, on February 7, 1911, we presented to them a report with certain recommendations. In it we suggested and recommended, in the order in which they were mentioned, four different sites, fully described, which, in our judgment, were suitable for the location of small parks. It will be interesting, I am sure, for you to know the general principles upon which the Special Park Commission worked, and the lines along which we studied before arriving at the conclusions which led us to recommend these sites. I will not attempt to give all the detailed information as to each site presented in the report.

The Purpose of the Small Park

"We believe that small parks or playgrounds have a three-fold function. In the first place, they are curative, if you please. They open up congested parts of the city, thereby creating breathing spaces, with important results in the improvement of sanitary conditions. The small parks are also preventive. By providing places where children can come together and play, they tend to remove the children from the streets. The children are thus protected against accidents or personal injury which might result from their playing upon the streets. Besides, in the playground the children are brought together under the right supervision and direction, and

are prevented—while following out the natural impulse of youth or childhood to find expression in activity—from doing what they ought not to do. The playground is thus preventive in a moral sense. Lastly, the small park or playground furnishes an incentive. When these children and young people come together in the park or playground they are impelled and inspired to make the most of themselves. The proper direction of activity, such as is given in all playgrounds under a competent instructor, appeals to the best that is in the children, even in sport, and encourages them to rise to something better.

"These things were kept in mind as indicating the general principles according to which playgrounds should be located. If they are to render that three-fold service they must necessarily be located where those they are to serve are found. The first consideration, therefore, in the selection of a site for a small playground park the commission believed to be a condition of congestion of population and, particularly, the congestion of that part of the population which, primarily, will use the playground, namely, children and young people.

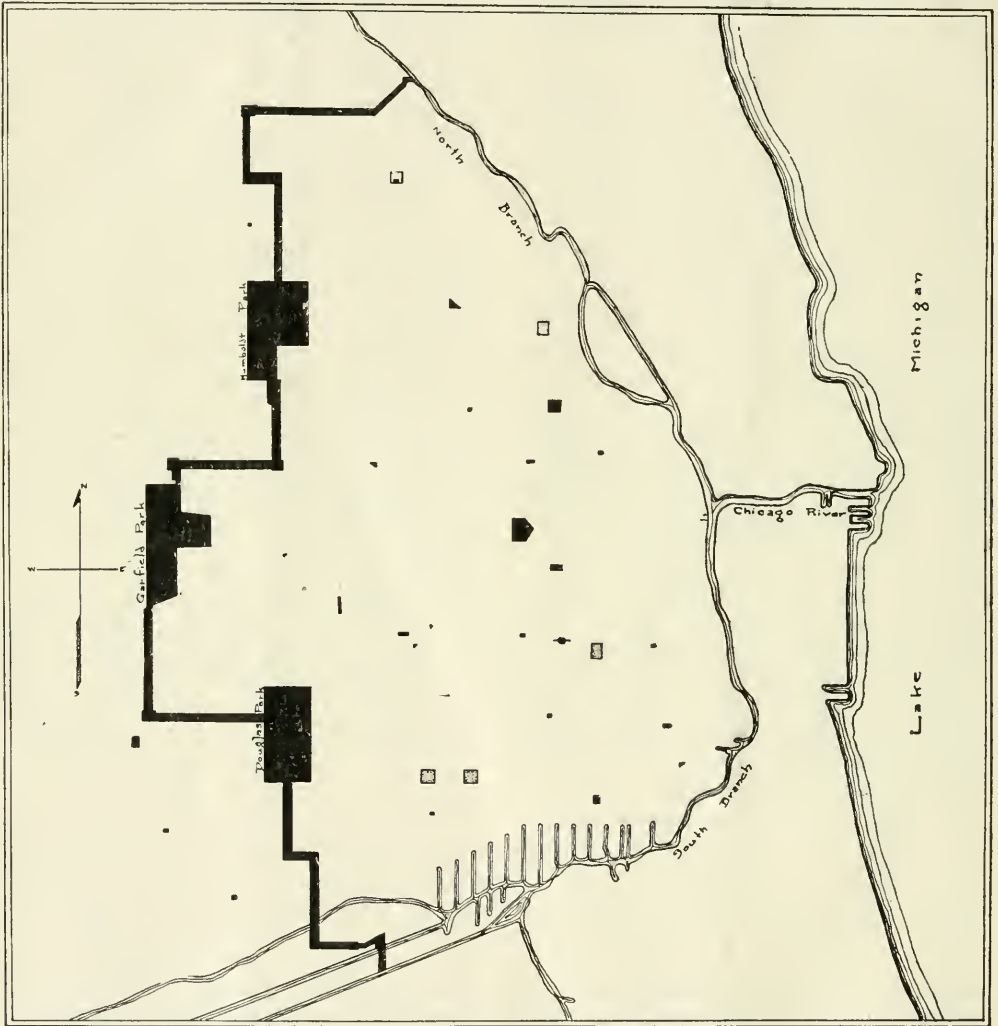
Population Survey of the West Side

"So the very first thing that the commission undertook to do in starting upon its investigation was to get a picture of the population conditions of the West Side and particularly of the population conditions of those under twenty-one years of age. We secured the school census for 1908, the last one available, which gave by election precincts the school population or number of persons under twenty-one years of age. The Special Park Commission treated this matter of park sites, throughout all of its investigation, not as a ward proposition, but as a West Side proposition. The commission believed that these parks should be located with regard to population and without reference to ward boundaries. But because the school census and the city maps had been made according to wards and election precincts it was necessary to seek information along those lines. The election precinct maps of every ward on the West Side were secured; the popu-

lation under twenty-one years of age in each of those precincts was ascertained; and the average number of persons per acre figured out. The acreage of the precinct was figured by measurement, the population within the precinct divided by

"As helpful in this consideration of population conditions, we secured advance information from the United States census which gave us the population of the West Side by United States census districts. Although these

Parks and Playgrounds of the West Side



Map showing Parks, with connecting Parkways, Playgrounds and Recreation Centers of the West Side of Chicago (East of 40th Avenue), and Recreation Center Sites recommended to the West Chicago Park Commission by the Special Park Commission in its Report of February 7, 1911. Sites recommended for Recreation Centers, are indicated thus [square symbol]. (The two southernmost of these sites are recommended as alternatives, — the one at the right being given the preference.) Scale 1/2" = 1 mile. April 1911.

the number of acres, and in that way there was obtained for every election precinct in every ward on the West Side (very nearly five hundred of them) the average population per acre under twenty-one years of age.

figures were not those upon which we particularly desired to work, they were very valuable as confirmatory evidence.

"Having found these averages, we had maps colored to show six different degrees of population density. The com-

mission recognized the fact that, if unlimited money were available, parks could be placed to advantage all over our city, whether in greatly congested sections or not. But with a limited amount of money to spend, the commission felt that attention should first be given to the needs of the congested communities. By putting before us these different maps of the West Side, it was very easy to eliminate a large part of it as not entitled to consideration at this time because of the lack of a dense population. The centers of great congestion were easily located in this way.

marked on the maps all of the existing parks and playgrounds on the West Side, first, of the West Park Commission, and, second, of the Special Parks Commission.

"We also secured information from the Health Department about certain sanitary conditions. We could not get this information by precincts, but we learned the sanitary conditions of the various wards, whether they were bad, medium, fair or good. We also obtained figures from the Health Department as to the number of new cases of tuberculosis which had been reported in the

Parks, Playgrounds and Recreation Centers of the West Side of Chicago and Recreation Center Sites Recommended to the West Chicago Park Commission by the Special Park Commission in its Report of February 7, 1911.

<i>Parks.</i>	<i>Acre- age.</i>	<i>Jurisdic- tion.</i>	<i>Playgrounds.</i>	<i>Acre- age.</i>	<i>Jurisdic- tion.</i>
1. Humboldt Park	205.87	W. P. Com.	28. Commercial Club play- ground .....	.91	Sp. P. Com.
2. Garfield Park	187.53	W. P. Com.	29. Christopher .....	.65	Sp. P. Com.
3. Douglas Park	181.99	W. P. Com.	30. Dante .....	.48	Sp. P. Com.
4. Union Park	17.37	W. P. Com.	31. Hamlin Avenue	4.12	Sp. P. Com.
5. Jefferson Park	7.03	W. P. Com.	32. McLaren .....	.74	Sp. P. Com.
6. Vernon Park	6.14	W. P. Com.	33. McCormick .....	.80	Sp. P. Com.
7. Campbell Park	1.38	W. P. Com.	34. Sampson .....	.62	Sp. P. Com.
8. Wicker Park	4.03	W. P. Com.	35. Washington .....	.54	Sp. P. Com.
9. Shedd Park	1.13	W. P. Com.	36. Holstein Park	1.94	W. P. Com.
10. Logan Square	6.30	W. P. Com.	<i>Recreation Centers.</i>		
11. Palmer Square	15.75	W. P. Com.	37. Park No. 1.....	8.13	W. P. Com.
12. Sacramento Square ..	3.68	W. P. Com.	38. Park No. 2.....	2.89	W. P. Com.
13. Garfield Square	2.97	W. P. Com.	39. Park No. 3.....	3.85	W. P. Com.
14. Independence Square..	3.68	W. P. Com.	<i>Proposed Recreation Centers.</i>		
15. Bickerdike Square ..	1.00	Sp. P. Com.	40. Noble, Bradley, Holt and Blackhawk Sts.	8.68	W. P. Com.
16. Congress Park .....	.75	Sp. P. Com.	41. Polk, May, Taylor and Sholto Sts.	8.08	W. P. Com.
17. Colorado Ave, Triangle	.20	Sp. P. Com.	42. 18th, Wood, 19th and Lincoln Sts.	8.27	W. P. Com.
18. DeKalb Square .....	.75	Sp. P. Com.	43. 18th, Hoyne, 19th and Leavitt Sts. (alter- native to 15).....	8.27	W. P. Com.
19. Kedzie Park	3.00	Sp. P. Com.	44. Hamburg and Clare- mont Sts., Pleasant Pl. and Irving Ave.	8.54	W. P. Com.
20. Patterson Park .....	.75	Sp. P. Com.			
21. Schoenhofen Triangle.	.75	Sp. P. Com.			
22. Western Ave, Triangle	.13	Sp. P. Com.			
23. Austin Park	4.50	Sp. P. Com.			
24. Midway Park	1.50	Sp. P. Com.			
25. Holden Park	4.00	Sp. P. Com.			
26. Merrick Park	6.50	Sp. P. Com.			
27. Kinzie Park	1.75	Sp. P. Com.			

"But population was not the only thing considered. The location of public and parochial schools was also taken into consideration. On each of our maps we had indicated the location of all the public and parochial schools, with the number of enrolled pupils in each. As was to be expected, the schools of largest enrollment are found to be in the centers of densest population.

"We also took into account existing parks and playgrounds, because, of course, a district that already has such a breathing place, such a recreation center, although it is densely populated, cannot be considered at the same time with another which hasn't any. We

different wards during the year 1909. During the summer of 1909 a special examination was made in regard to deaths among infants from diarrheal diseases and a map was secured showing by black spots each individual death of this sort all over the city and indicating thereby the centers of greatest infant mortality.

"Another consideration was that a park should, if possible, be located in the center of a residence district, in order that the beneficial influence, exerted in all the ways I have indicated, might go out from all sides, and not from only two or three sides. The park should be in the center of the condition which

called for such relief as a park would give.

"With all of this information before it as to density of population, existing recreation centers, parks and playgrounds and boulevards, sanitary conditions, new cases of tuberculosis, infant mortality, the location and attendance of public and private schools, the commission undertook to determine the places where parks could be most suitably located.

"We studied these maps carefully and finally decided upon four localities which, in our judgment, showed the greatest need and were worthy of first consideration by the West Park Commission. We then visited each one of these localities and fixed upon the definite sites recommended. All sites which had previously been suggested by any one were also inspected.

"Another point we decided on was that a park should be of sufficient *size* to properly serve the community, that it would not be economy or wisdom to give these congested communities half of what they really needed, but that it would be better to establish in succession proper parks of sufficient size and properly located, than to establish cheaper parks or smaller parks and more of them. The commission, judging from what had already been done by the West Chicago Park Commission along this line, felt that a park ought to be at least as large as Park No. 1, which comprises about eight acres. When you have to take care of a population of school children of about 6,000, such as attends three large schools near one of these sites, you will readily understand that you cannot hope to relieve congestion very much if you try to crowd them and some others into four acres of land. Eight acres is the very smallest area that is practicable, and that size the commission thought best to recommend.

"The first site suggested is at Noble, Blackhawk, Cleaver and Holt streets. It is a space of about eight acres, and is 600 feet square. It is in the center of a large Polish population. Two large parochial schools are near at hand, one of them, which is right across the street from the site recommended, having an attendance of 3,800 pupils, and the other,

a block away, having an enrollment of 1,400 pupils. Besides these two parochial schools with an enrollment of over 5,200 children, the Kosciusko Public School, which is near by, has an enrollment of a little over 800. A little farther away are still other schools. Half a mile to the south of this site is Park No. 1 of the West Chicago Park Commission.

Park will Reduce Congestion

"This proposed site will render in a very striking way the curative service which I have indicated as one of the important functions of the small parks. The site which we recommend takes in the lower half of two of the most densely populated precincts on the West Side—and I think that means probably in the city of Chicago—one of which has an average population per acre under twenty-one years of age of 128, and the other an average population of 131. Nearly all of the lots are covered with front and rear houses, and some with front, rear and center houses. Under existing building regulations with regard to new buildings, if this park should be opened and that dense congestion removed, these bad conditions could not be reproduced anywhere in the near neighborhood by those who move. The existing building laws do not permit such a covering of the space. So if a park was located there it would do away with half of one of the most congested centers of population in Chicago—one which has given the ward a bad reputation for insanitary conditions. The infant mortality in this ward, according to the investigation in July, August and September of 1909, was 31 to the thousand of infant population. In that year there were 194 new cases of tuberculosis.

"We believe that that site, although it is right in the center of a residence district with a large population which will be hard to move away, ought to be chosen. It will render valuable service to that whole section in eliminating some of the insanitary conditions existing there. Such a park would serve 20,000 people under twenty-one years of age who live within half a mile of this site. It will be convenient to the large schools. In furtherance of this park work the Board of Education should acquire a narrow strip of frontage on

Blackhawk street—now occupied by a row of stores—which shuts off the Kosciusko School from the park. This would give the Kosciusko School a proper setting and a proper outlook. The location of the park at that point would be of inestimable value to the public school. The commission has felt that, where other things were equal and, in addition, one site would serve a large public institution, a large public school, and the other would not, the former of these two should be selected.

Conditions in the Nineteenth Ward

"The second proposed site is down in the Nineteenth ward, between Polk, Taylor, Sholto and May streets. It is in the midst of a very dense population, as shown on the maps. The sanitary conditions are very bad. The site recommended is about eight acres in size. It will surround on two sides one of the largest public schools, the Andrew Jackson School, with an enrollment of over 2,100 pupils. It will clean up a very insanitary neighborhood which is at present crowded with old, dilapidated buildings. The first and second sites recommended are the two that call for immediate attention for the relief of bad conditions.

"The third site is out in the Eleventh ward on West Eighteenth and Nineteenth, Lincoln and Wood streets. There is a large population of school age near at hand.

"The fourth site, which is suggested rather for the future than the present, is up on the Northwest Side about a mile north of the first site. It contemplates the enlargement of Holstein Park—now a park of two acres—by the addition of about six acres more surrounding it. That development should be made, however, after the other three sites are improved.

"If you draw a line along Western avenue from the north branch to the south branch of the river you will include what was the West Side when that street was the western limit of the city and what is the heart of the West Side today. The West Park Commission have three small parks—No. 1, No. 2 and No. 3—located, one at Chicago avenue and Noble street, in the

Seventeenth ward; one in the Ninth ward, at Jefferson and West Fourteenth streets, and another in the Tenth ward, at Twenty-first and South May streets. With those three already located and the additional sites recommended for immediate consideration, the heart of the West Side—the congested part—will be fairly well covered with well distributed playground parks. Therefore the commission believes that these three sites will carry out practically and very efficiently and serviceably what has already been begun in establishing the other three.

Parks in Congested Neighborhoods

"The sites are in the most thickly settled neighborhoods of the West Side, at present without access to existing parks—neighborhoods which present the greatest need by reason of the congestion of population and the insanitary conditions resulting from that congestion." (Applause.)

CHAIRMAN MOULTON: "At the public hearing before the West Chicago Park Commissioners, when the playground sites were originally discussed, it very quickly developed that the commissioners did not have a very enviable job on their hands in deciding upon locations for the proposed small parks. Pleas were made to have these parks located in the different sections represented by the different speakers, and if the commissioners had only had sufficient funds, nearly every location recommended would have deserved attention. But it soon became clear that it would be impossible for the commissioners to respond to all of the requests. The necessity, therefore, of some complete investigation and survey of the situation became very apparent. This was the reason for the investigation which has been described to you by Mr. Halsey and which is the subject of discussion today.

"We have with us at this time Mr. William A. Kolacek, the president of the West Chicago Park Commission, the body upon which rests the responsibility of deciding upon these sites. He has very kindly consented to be with us and speak to us upon this subject."

William A. Kolacek

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: I would state for the West Chicago Park Commissioners that they are heartily in favor of the sites recommended by the Special Park Commission. The proposed site at Noble, Blackhawk, Cleaver and Holt streets by all means needs attention. That location will receive the first attention of the West Chicago Park Commissioners in the development of these small parks. The second site, that in the Nineteenth ward, is in a thickly populated district, and should be improved for sanitary reasons if for no other purpose. A small park at the proposed site in the Eleventh ward is also very much needed. The commissioners believe that they can develop those three sites with the million-dollar bond issue which was approved at the election last fall. If we had more funds we would probably be able to improve the fourth site, but we believe that the million-dollar fund will be exhausted in securing the first three sites recommended by the Special Park Commission.

Old Buildings Should be Torn Down

"The commissioners feel that the old, dilapidated buildings on the proposed park sites should not, as in former years, be sold and removed to other sites—thereby increasing the congestion—but should be torn down and never used again.

"No doubt many of you have seen these different locations. The site at Noble, Blackhawk, Cleaver and Holt streets has as many as four buildings on a single twenty-five-foot lot. A year ago I visited that locality with our commissioners, looking over these different sites. It was pitiable to see the way the people lived. Families with from five to seven children were shoved into two or three rooms of a rickety old shanty. As many as four people slept in one little room. In the other locations the situation is about the same. The commissioners have, therefore, decided that when these sites are purchased the buildings shall be torn down and these conditions removed. The people should not be given a chance to live in these old shanties.

"The commissioners also believe that, if they had ample money, other locations

on the West Side which are getting to be thickly populated should receive attention. The territory beyond Forty-seventh avenue, Fourteenth and Fifteenth streets, is getting to be a very thickly populated neighborhood. It will be only a very short time until the people in that neighborhood will be demanding playground facilities. It would be cheaper to purchase a site there now when the land is vacant, to hold it for the future, than to wait until the neighborhood is well built up.

Large Park in Austin Favored

"The Commission is in favor not only of the small parks, but, in addition to them, of one more large park on the West Side at Oak Park and Austin where there is 160 acres of land that can be purchased at this time. We will have a bill authorizing a bond issue for that purpose before the legislature next week.

"The commissioners believe that, as Mr. Halsey has stated, the small parks should be large enough to meet the demands of the neighborhoods in which they are placed. Park No. 2 has only three acres of land, with the result that it is always overcrowded. Park No. 1, at Chicago avenue and Noble street, which contains about eight acres, is about the correct size for small parks on the West Side.

"The Park Commissioners are grateful to the Special Parks Commission for assisting them in the work of selecting these small park sites, and thus taking a heavy burden from their shoulders. We assure the Special Parks Commission that we appreciate their work." (Applause.)

Graham R. Taylor

"Mr. Chairman and Fellow Members: I have been asked to state in a word the position of Chicago in the play and recreation movement throughout the country. President Roosevelt, in 1907, issued a statement to the mayors of the larger cities throughout the country asking that they send delegations to this city to see what he characterized as one of the most notable civic achievements of any American city, referring to the system of recreation centers which at that time had become well established

on the South Side, and which was then being contemplated upon the other two sides of the city. This was a deserved recognition of the leadership which this city has taken in the play and recreation movement not only throughout the country but throughout the world.

"Only one large city, New York, had surpassed Chicago in the total investment in the play and recreative facilities, and the tremendous cost of land in New York City has been such that the amount we have expended has gotten for us a far larger return in equipment and area than the amount which was spent in New York. Thus far the total bond issues of all of the park commissions in the city of Chicago for small park playgrounds approximate \$11,000,000, and the annual cost of maintenance of the recreation centers and playgrounds under all of the commissions in Chicago is not far from half a million dollars. Compare this magnificent equipment and these large sums with the meagreness of the equipment a decade ago—with that, for instance, of 1898, the first year in which public funds were devoted to playgrounds in Chicago. It was only with a hard struggle that \$1,000 was obtained from our City Council. We have had a most inspiring record of civic advance through these ten or twelve years that have followed—a record which should cause us all, when we have any temporary discouragement, looked at from the standpoint of a month or a year, to realize that, after all, judged by decades, our civic progress has been notable.

Playground Movement in America

"The playground movement throughout the country has, within the last four or five years, had its most significant progress. In 1907 there were just 90 cities which maintained public playgrounds. In 1908 there were 185; in 1909, 336. I dare say that the number now is rapidly approaching 500. But the Chicago idea, namely, of supplying recreation centers to meet the recreative needs of the whole population, is one of the most significant developments during the last few years. Most of the playgrounds throughout the country are of the type which satisfy the needs of children up to the ages of thirteen or fourteen. If you take the sta-

tistics from our Juvenile Court it will be obvious that most of the cases of delinquency come into that court between the ages of fourteen and sixteen. There is, therefore, needed a continuity of recreative facilities to meet the needs not only of small children but of young men and young women, and older persons, too.

"These all-around recreation centers which Chicago is establishing in such a magnificent way serve the needs of the whole population. In fact, this whole playground movement should be looked at from the standpoint of the broad emphasis which is now being placed upon recreation. Perhaps the sweep of that movement is in no way more significantly seen than in the benefactions of one of the members of this Club, Mr. William Kent. Mr. Kent has the honor of having given the first land for the use of a public playground in Chicago, back in 1893, and at the same time the honor of having given to our federal government one of the national parks for the enjoyment of the whole people, the Muir Woods, across the bay from San Francisco. It seems to me that these two acts of beneficence by our distinguished former fellow citizen and now Congressman-elect from California indicate the wide range of the whole movement for public recreation throughout the country.

Juvenile Delinquency Reduced

"The efficiency of the play centers was well stated in a report made a couple of years ago by the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy after an investigation, which was made through the expenditure of \$10,000, provided by the Russell Sage Foundation, to study the question of juvenile delinquency in the Chicago Juvenile Court. All of the playground and recreation enterprises were studied to find out the extent to which the introduction of those facilities into neighborhoods meant a diminution in the number of cases of delinquency coming to the Chicago Juvenile Court. Only such enterprises were studied as those in which the influences of these play and recreation facilities could be isolated so that any changes could be attributed entirely to that one factor. It was found that these recreation centers

caused in most cases a diminution of 28 per cent in those cases of juvenile delinquency. In one instance the decrease was as much as 70 per cent.

"While, of course, it is impossible, as Mr. Halsey has said, to supply all of the people of Chicago with these recreation center privileges, the small playgrounds ought to be sprinkled all over the city between these large recreation centers. But it is the continuity of recreation facilities provided by these recreation centers which is the most effective factor in reducing the juvenile delinquency in Chicago.

"Public recreation, as has been pointed out by Miss Addams in that wonderful book of hers, 'The Spirit of Youth and the City Streets,' is not merely something which should provide for the play of little children, but is an important factor in the increase of industrial efficiency. Surely, if business men find that a day or an afternoon at golf or some other outdoor exercise stimulates their keenness and quick perception in dealing with business problems, the factory workers who have even more monotony in their work must have the same sort of relaxation and recreation if we are to have the kind of industrial efficiency which this country requires to keep its industrial supremacy.

Commercialized Amusements

"Those who exploit recreation and amusement for commercial or private profit certainly recognize this. *The Scientific American* very recently had an article estimating that there were in this country 13,000 biograph shows; that the average daily attendance upon those moving-picture shows was about 5,000,000 of people. This indicates, it seems to me, that the tremendous need for public recreation is recognized by private enterprises—for our public enterprises do not go far to fill the need. In no sense do I mean to criticize the moving-picture theater. I believe that, in many respects, it has a distinct educational value. But I merely want to point out the tremendous and swift success of that cheap form of recreation as indicating the great need of the whole people for recreation.

"Mr. Halsey has well stated that this play movement is no longer considered

as merely a curative factor, but is now considered also a preventive and an incentive. The constructive thing in our life which recreation produces is one of the things which is just beginning to be appreciated throughout the country.

"Not merely, then, does the recreative movement tend to prevent deterioration of character and of health, but it promotes good health, good character and good citizenship. It develops team play in children, and stimulates the co-operative spirit through all of life.

"Certainly, if we are to have civic advance, we must have acquaintanceship and confidence, neighbor with neighbor and citizen with citizen. This broad plane of recreation is one of those few planes upon which we can all meet in common, regardless of our religious and political conditions, and come to know each other, to respect each other's own good intentions, to know the good character that is in almost everybody if it is simply brought out through working together. This recreation movement can be of the utmost service in promoting that spirit of co-operation and of team play which we must have in our citizenship of the future if American democracy is to be wrought out in the best and most successful way.

"Several large cities throughout this country have already established departments or commissions of public recreation upon which serve members from various boards in the city, co-ordinating the parks, the playgrounds, the water front, the bathing beaches, the libraries and the museums.

"The very fact that commercialized amusement has been developed to such an extraordinary extent and the fact that we are developing our public provisions for recreation for all the people make it imperative that some understanding of the relation between the commercial and the public forms of amusement is one of the next steps which must be accomplished. I was interested in Kansas City recently to find that an adequate inspection of dance halls and of all other forms of amusement is being undertaken by the public bodies. Mrs. Bowen has frequently advocated the necessity of a more rational and

more effective supervision of commercialized amusement in this city. It is evident that in Chicago one of the things which at least ought to be studied in the near future is this question of what we can do not only to provide pub-

lic recreation in the magnificent way in which it has already begun to be provided but to regulate those forms of commercialized amusement which are supplementing to a degree these public activities." (Applause.)

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HUMANIZING THE CARE OF THE SICK POOR

The City Club, on Friday, May 12, was addressed by Dr. Richard C. Cabot of the Massachusetts General Hospital, Boston, on the subject, "Humanizing the Care of the Sick Poor." Dr. Cabot's presence in the city was due to his attendance upon the Child Welfare Exhibit now being held at the Coliseum. His remarks dealt particularly with the importance of supplementing the work of the hospital authorities and attendants by that of social workers, who could introduce a more personal and human element into the care of the sick and perform services now impossible of performance by the regular attendants. His suggestions have had practical application in his work at the Massachusetts General Hospital. Mr. Sherman C. Kingsley, who presided, introduced the speaker with the following remarks:

CHAIRMAN KINGSLEY: "Gentlemen of the City Club: I have observed one thing about a person who is sick; he does not like to be considered merely as clinical material, as an interesting case.

"There is on sale at the book stores a little volume which appeared a few years ago, entitled 'Social Service and the Art of Healing.' I know of no one phrase that better sets forth the particular thing for which our speaker stands than the title of this book. A few years ago Dr. Cabot made the discovery, at the Massachusetts General Hospital in Boston, that it was not enough merely to give a man a prescription and a pill and turn him loose. He found that, if the pill stood any show of success, it had to be related to the environment in which the man lived, that the family and community relationships of the patient must be taken into account. Since Dr. Cabot took up this social service work in the Massa-

chusetts General Hospital, that work has been imitated with greater or less success in many places over the country.

"Dr. Cabot is to talk today on the subject of 'Humanizing the Care of the Sick Poor.'"

Dr. Richard C. Cabot

"Our big hospitals and insane asylums are all of them extraordinarily artificial collections of misery and suffering and of things that would disgust and irritate you. To ask any human being to live in that atmosphere and not to be perverted by it is perfectly unnatural and unreasonable. Yet that is exactly what we do ask, and when we make an investigation, or come to know something about the actual and foreseeable results, we are not pleased with these results.

"There are two main things, psychologically, that happen to any man who is kept month after month and year after year in this very trying and artificial atmosphere of an almshouse, an insane asylum, a hospital or other public institution. One of those I will call the *illusion of routine*; the other I will call the form of *absent-mindedness*, which comes from specialization.

The Illusion of Routine

"Now, the illusion of routine in its simplest form is something like this: You are perhaps an orderly, stationed in a certain part of a great institution to answer questions. People drift by your corner at such and such a rate and ask you questions, many of which are very foolish questions. Human nature being what it is, those questions come to be very much alike in any given month or any given year, and before you have been there very long you have been asked the same foolish question by at least a

hundred people. The point to which I want to direct your attention is that when the hundredth man asks you a question which is no more foolish than it was when it was asked the first time, your impression is, and you act upon it, that you have been asked the same foolish question a hundred times by the same man.

"That is the trouble with our institutions. You see, it is due to a psychological illusion. You quite honestly believe that you have reason to be irritated and feel cross—and you act accordingly. But the individual does not know that you have had that same question asked you a hundred times before. So far as he knows, no human being ever asked it before, and that it is in any way foolish naturally does not occur to him.

"There are a thousand forms of that illusion of routine. I will speak of one that happens to come to my mind.

"When a physician comes to a bedside to examine a patient, he generally wants to get the patient perfectly square and flat, on the middle of his back, so that he won't have anything distorted by his position. He generally says: 'Just turn, please, right flat on the middle of your back.' In at least six cases out of ten the patient turns over on his stomach. It seems foolish, but that is what he does. When the first patient does it, the physician is a little amused, and tells him, 'Please turn on your back, not your stomach.' But when about a hundred and fifty people have done that same thing it is very hard not to be brutal, rude or angry. That is the illusion of routine.

The Absent-Mindedness of Specialization

"The other thing that I want to speak of is the absent-mindedness that comes with specialization. I do not suppose that anybody in this age and generation is so crazy as to believe that we can get along without specialization. But there are quite a number of people just about crazy enough to forget that the evils of specialization must be neutralized or they will altogether counterbalance its values. There must be some machinery, some forces, personal or impersonal, to neu-

tralize the evils of the division of labor. I suppose that is just as true in business as it is in medicine; I know it is true in medicine.

"The weak side of specialization can be exemplified by the particular knack with which a physician uses a microscope. He does not use it as most of you would use it for the first time. You would probably screw up your face so as to shut one eye, or put your hand over that eye so as to use the other more freely. But the physician who has used a microscope for any length of time does not do that; he keeps both eyes wide open, and *one eye absolutely blind*. That is merely because he *wants* to see nothing with it. He is specializing on what he sees in the microscope, and that limits his attention to that one object and makes him oblivious of all that goes on outside it.

"Every specialist is precisely in that position. If he is a medical specialist, he is specializing upon the question of what is the disease in this piece of flesh that is in front of him, and what he is going to do about it. He is necessarily—and I think, on the whole, rightly—oblivious of the human aspects of the problem. I do not believe that we can get the expert skill that we rightly demand of our physicians unless we allow them to specialize to such an extent that they cannot possibly think of the human nature of the patients whom they are treating. If that is true, as I believe, we must certainly provide some machinery, personal or impersonal, for counteracting this evil of specialism.

The Callousness of Hospital Work

"The natural and quick result of putting any body of people into public institutions, such as almshouses, insane asylums or hospitals, is to make them callous and hard and cruel. That is not in the least their fault. You and I would be affected in quite the same way. There is no one to blame for this condition except those who manage the institutions, who have not succeeded in counteracting this natural tendency of human nature.

"The hospital nurses and orderlies, for example, are constantly in contact with facts which would probably prevent you

from enjoying your dinner for a week, if you were in contact with them. Now, in order to do their duty to three meals a day and to live in that atmosphere, these attendants have to harden themselves.

"They are in contact, furthermore, with sources of irritation on the part of the patients, which would irritate you and me if we were there for the first time, beyond power of restraint. In order to restrain themselves, and in order to endure it, they have to become callous.

"The situation, it seems to me, is parallel to the situation of our United States army and our civil service in the Philippines. We recognize that service as one of special strain upon body and mind, as one which is sure to be injurious to the average individual within a limited term of years. That fact is recognized, and long furloughs, away from those special surroundings, are provided.

"It is about time that we should recognize the same fact about service in public institutions. The conditions are just as abnormal as those in the Philippine service and the spiritual climate is just as bad to live in and keep decent. We must do something to amend or neutralize these conditions if we are to have anything else than scandal, cruelty and neglect in our public institutions. In other words, it is our fault, not the fault of the individuals concerned, if we have inhumanity in our institutions.

"There is a difference between men and women in this respect. Women can stand doing the same disagreeable or irritating or disgusting job over and over again for a longer time without getting calloused or cruel than men can. For that reason we ought to have far more women attendants in these institutions than we now have. The man who can stand this sort of thing even with proper furloughs and vacations and everything else that we can provide is very rare. You will always have more difficulty with the orderlies, the men nurses, than with the women. But even with the women you are sure to have difficulties. The women in the hospitals are just as good as other women, but only supernatural beings could do their

work as the ignorant public expects it to be done.

Change of Work for the Attendants

"What are we going to do about it? I have suggested one thing that I think we ought to do about it, namely, take them away from their work now and then for a considerable period. I do not mean, of course, that they should be given entire vacations; they should presumably be put on some other part of the job. They should be given a chance to see there is something to be done in the world besides carrying a basin to a bedside for some one to vomit in and carrying off the results. They should have a fairly frequent and a fairly prolonged change of work.

"They should also have special educational opportunities, something that will show them the scientific and the human aspect of their work, as it might be given to them by lectures or by other kinds of teaching. We have this, of course, to some extent in the so-called training schools for nurses and for orderlies. Most of these training schools, however, hardly deserve the name. Still, they are making the attempt, by educational work, to prevent the women from getting callous and hard.

"But that is not enough. We must have, I believe, an outside body of people coming into these institutions and looking upon what they see there, listening to what they hear there and smelling what they smell there, with the fresh senses of outsiders who are still sensitive to conditions. This body of persons should not, in my opinion, be simply an occasional investigating board. The managers of institutions naturally—and I think rightly—fear the inroads of these special investigating boards, because they are almost certain to get wrong impressions and to blame the managers for many things for which they do not deserve blame. They may be investigating some large hospital where surgical cases are taken, and may hear such shouting and screaming as would lead them to think that some one was having his throat cut or was being tortured. The chances are that that individual is in the process of being etherized. Without

pain or suffering of any kind he is shouting quite automatically and unconsciously. If you are a greenhorn you don't know that, and you go out and write it up for the papers.

The Place of the Social Worker in the Hospital

"The person who should do this work of investigation, it seems to me, is one who is humane, who has never lost the sense of delicacy, of refinement and sensitiveness that belongs to the human being, and yet who knows enough about sickness and suffering and institutions, and the difficulties of managing them, to take a fair and reasonable view of the situation. Such a person is the social worker and nobody else. That is why I have been trying for a number of years, wherever possible, to get social workers into the public institutions.

"The social worker in a public institution will not criticize things that do not deserve criticism. The social worker will generally be a woman, one who knows misery and knows sickness and agony and disgusting things, and yet is not hardened by them.

"What are these people to do when they get there? In my opinion, they should not be primarily and merely spies or onlookers. They ought to have a regular job in the institution. They ought to be part of the institution itself, paid by the institution and responsible to it. And yet they ought to exercise a check upon the natural routine illusions and absent-mindedness of specialization to which I have previously referred.

"These social workers ought to begin by doing such innumerable small services for the patients as the nurses and doctors with their more specialized jobs cannot do themselves. If you go into a hospital ward and stay there more than a few minutes you are almost sure to be accosted by some one who will ask you if you cannot find out what has happened to his family at home. He has come in there with a broken leg, or as a victim of some other accident, and he is often in acute anxiety as to what is happening to his family. To get a man well, one must get his mind and soul at rest; that will not be the case if

he does not know what is happening to his family. Or the patient may wish to write to his family; and if he can't use his arms as he lies in bed, he will want somebody to write the letters for him. People thus in touch with the patient's home and family and with the patient himself could probably occupy most of their time in the performance of such as these.

"Those services are, of course, comparatively superficial, although they serve as an entering wedge in getting acquainted with the patient. But, as soon as this individual is friendly with the patient, he will find occasion for innumerable other services which will never be done unless he does them.

The Care of Convalescents

"For example, this person may undertake the arrangements for the convalescents. Most of our great hospitals have a constant waiting list, a constant pressure of people who are sick and who wish to get in but cannot. The managers of these hospitals, therefore, quite rightly are always trying to get patients out as fast as possible, in order to make room for new patients. Nobody is to blame for this situation, but it frequently results in the discharge of patients before they are well, and sometimes is responsible for a life-long invalidism because of something that has not healed, as it should have healed, in the hospital.

"We need, then, some one who will look out for the convalescents, who will see that they get really well again, and that the job is not spoiled by being left unfinished. The hospital's job is to get people well again. So, merely from the point of view of finishing the job which the hospital has begun, we need these social workers. No patient ought to be allowed to leave a hospital until he is assured some proper place to finish his convalescence. That is the case in the Massachusetts General Hospital. The patient is kept in the hospital until such a place has been found.

"But of course there is far more to be done. If you take any text book on medicine containing a catalogue of diseases and go over the list with some

doctor of your acquaintance, asking him the treatment of the various diseases, you will find that his answers after the first twenty-five or thirty get very monotonous. He will tell you that he gives quinine for malaria, mercury for syphilis, antitoxin for diphtheria, etc., but finally he will tell you: 'In this disease the only effective remedy is general hygiene.' Of others he will say that they are a matter of building up the patient's general condition, of increasing his general vitality, of proper feeding, of getting enough fresh air, of a frequent vacation or a reduction of his working hours. You will find he will prescribe such remedies for more than two-thirds—for probably nine-tenths—of all the diseases in the list.

"When a patient comes to a hospital he gets a dose—a rather brief dose—of general hygiene. He gets some air which is probably fresher than the air he is used to breathing; his food is probably much better than that which he has been eating; the chances are he will sleep in a good deal better bed than that in which he has been accustomed to sleep. But this is all for a very brief period. When he is taken from this comparatively luxurious existence back to the tenement from which he came, he naturally tends to think it has all been a dream and to go back to the old way of living.

To Complete the Work of the Hospital

"In other words, if the work of the hospital is to be completed, if results of the hospital care are to be clinched, special and detailed attention must be given to the patient about to leave. But the doctor and the nurse and the orderly and the superintendent and the board of trustees and the various other persons connected with the hospital have no time to give the detailed care of the sort that nearly every patient needs.

"General hygiene is *general*; it is not specific; it is not individual. It must be fitted to each individual, just as a coat is fitted. Particular application of the general facts of hygiene must be made for each individual, and that is a long process involving a pretty minute knowledge of the patient's life history, his habits, his temperament and other facts

about him which you won't find out until you know him pretty well.

"I have spoken so far chiefly from the point of view of trying to finish up the job which the hospital has well begun; but, of course, the whole work of preventive medicine comes in also. We had a baby once at the Massachusetts General Hospital which had the ordinary stomach and bowel trouble that babies have by thousands and millions in our summer months. We took him into the hospital and fed him right and in about three weeks, after the expenditure of about thirty dollars worth of care, we sent him out cured.

"This baby, which was about four month old, was naturally returned to its mother. The mother was one of those generous, open-hearted, good-souled individuals who wants to see that everybody has a little of the best that is going, and is sure to see that the baby gets a share of the best that is on the table. You can imagine the fare that she gave the baby. It included a certain supply of beer and hash. As the baby was only about four months old, it naturally was not very long before it appeared at the hospital again in exactly the same condition as before. That baby came in charge of the social service worker, who investigated the fact that the baby was in the hospital as 'a repeater.' We wanted to know why. These facts made an impression upon the hospital; they saw they had just thrown away thirty dollars, not to mention the suffering of the baby and the trouble at home.

The Relation of the Home to Sickness

"What was needed? It was needed that the hospital should recognize that it is a public servant, with relations to the community, and that it would have to teach the family from which this baby came something that would prevent the baby from getting into the same condition again. This means that the nurse, the social worker, would have to visit the home and to get an understanding of its bearing upon the health of the child.

"There are thousands of ways in which this relation of the home to sickness comes out. I once was trying to treat a young girl for insomnia. I tried

various remedies, without any effect. Finally I turned the girl over to the social service worker. I said: 'I wish you would visit this girl's home and see if you can find out why we cannot do anything to make her sleep. I cannot find out what is the matter with her.' Our worker visited the home and she found that our patient was occupying a bed with two other girls, and, as the bed was only the ordinary width, it seemed natural enough that she could not sleep as well as you and I, who perhaps have more room. That is the last thing in the world that the girl would have thought of saying to me or to any doctor, but it became apparent easily enough to the social worker who visited the home.

"I shall not take any more of your time in following up the different lines which branch out from any such work as this. You have imagination enough to see what a work of this kind could be, and you can see, of course, that one such worker could not go very far toward covering the needs of a hospital. We must have many workers, and the principle that I started out with in this brief talk, *the humanizing of conditions*, would be one department of their work. That would not be talked about, it would not come out in the newspapers; but conditions would spontaneously improve, as they always do.

"I want to end this talk as I began it, by saying that I think that the abuses that no doubt exist here, as they do everywhere else, will not be remedied until we recognize and provide against the two fundamental, psychological facts with which I started out:

"(1) *The illusions of routine, perfectly innocent, no moral stigma upon the individual, but needing to be recognized and provided for; and (2) the absent-mindedness, thoughtlessness and narrowness which necessarily are bound up with specialization, and which must be neutralized if specialization is to be a blessing and not a curse.*" (Applause).

Hospital Training in the School of Civics

DR. GRAHAM TAYLOR: "I would like to tell very briefly of a local application of Dr. Cabot's splendid recommenda-

tions in the insane asylums of this state. Miss Julia C. Lathrop, than whom there is no one in the State of Illinois who has a more intelligent and sympathetic interest in the plight of the insane, has felt for a long time that the attendants ought to have the relief Dr. Cabot has spoken of, for their own sake as well as for the sake of the patients. She, therefore, organized in connection with the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy a summer course on occupations for the insane. We have offered the attendants of our state institutions in this state free tuition, engaging the best people in handicraft and recreational leadership. We have also sent out invitations to other hospitals throughout the country, and have had over forty attendants or nurses from the hospitals for the insane of this and a dozen other states.

"These attendants have fallen into that dreadful routine of which Dr. Cabot has spoken, and it is a great service to lift them out of it. The success of the experiment has been marked. It is very gratifying, at Dunning, to see some of the more hopeless of the insane making baskets, doing stenciling work or engaged in some similar occupation. One poor German woman there said: 'Mein Gott, if they will keep me here, why will they not give me something to do?' Dr. Adolph Meyer says that these simple occupations, when properly used, in certain initial stages of the mind, are of positive curative character.

"It does seem as though something more systematic and more widespread should be done for the attendants of these institutions, the routine of which is one of the most paralyzing and dreadful experiences of life." (Applause.)

Social Service Work in the County Hospital

HENRY W. THURSTON: "I would like to call attention to a work that was started in Chicago by the United Charities in connection with the County Hospital. Some of this social service work was being done there, but now, for some reason, it has been discontinued. I believe it perfectly legitimate for the people of Chicago to inquire into this condition of affairs and to see if something can not be done to continue that important

service in connection with our great county institutions."

DR. HARRY MOCK: "I was an interne at the County Hospital at the time the work which has just been referred to was started. Mrs. Kirk, a woman of high character and ability, took charge of the work. I have seen the most remarkable results following her visiting of the homes of the patients. Mrs. Kirk would talk with the patients and would go to their homes and find out the conditions there. If the conditions were not right, an effort would be made to have them remedied; if there were difficulties about the rent, the rent might be paid by the United Charities. When that was reported to the patient, the chances were that he would settle down and would get well much quicker because his mind was at rest. I saw the results of this work, and they were marvelous.

"The internes tell me that they can notice the difference in the patients since the change. I think that an effort should be made to return Mrs. Kirk, or another social worker, to the County Hospital. I would also like to know why she has been taken out."

CHAIRMAN KINGSLEY: "About a month ago I had a letter from the President of the County Board saying that the room which was occupied by Mrs. Kirk and her assistant was needed on account of the crowded condition of the hospital. It was stated that two or three beds could be put in this room. On this account, as was stated by the President in his letter, they were obliged to discontinue the work in the hospital."

DR. SOLOMON SULZBERGER: "We have had a social worker from the Michael Reese Hospital going out to the homes of the patients and seeing that they are getting proper attention, as suggested by Dr. Cabot. I think the time will come when we will have half a dozen on our staff."

Charities Investigation by the Association of Commerce

JULIUS ROSENWALD: "Mr. Henry Stewart, who is here today, is inquiring, for the Chicago Association of Commerce, into the work done by the different charity organizations of the

city. He tells me that in preparing his schedule he has included questions concerning the relief of the poor in their homes after they are discharged from hospital treatment. That inquiry will be made of every hospital reported on by the Association of Commerce."

CHAIRMAN KINGSLEY: "I would like to ask Mr. Stewart to say a word on the work he is undertaking."

HENRY STEWART: "Mr. Rosenwald has stated the case with perfect clearness. It is the purpose of the Association of Commerce to ask these questions of all the hospitals in Chicago that seek funds. This special question regarding the character and the nature and the extent of the follow-up work will receive great emphasis on the part of the Association of Commerce."

DR. FISCHKIN: "I would like to tell Dr. Cabot that there is a movement in Chicago, the final outcome of which will be to realize the ideas and ideals which he has just been setting forth. This movement started in the Chicago Medical Society, which, with the United Charities, has now formulated a plan for the supervision and systematization of the work in the Chicago medical institutions, dispensaries and hospitals.

"The Chicago Medical Society, jointly with the United Charities, started an investigation of the dispensaries in Chicago. There are about seventy or eighty such institutions in this city, and you will be surprised to hear that more than 25 per cent of the population of Chicago receive free medical service from such institutions—over half a million people.

"It is an astounding fact that such a tremendous work should be done without any systematization, without any supervision—and I may say without any aim. The patients receive their prescriptions, and nobody knows what becomes of them afterward.

"I want to express my gratitude to Dr. Cabot for what I have gained from the interesting reports of the Massachusetts General Hospital and from his book. Over there they are doing things on a small scale with very well equipped machinery. I believe that your reports state that hundreds of patients are being

helped. If we are to do this work for half a million we want to do it thoroughly, and we cannot do it with the means at our disposal. I hope the Association of Commerce and other civic bodies will take up this plan and help the Chicago Medical Society and the United Charities to carry it out."

DR. CABOT: "The work which has been done on a small scale at the Massachusetts General Hospital has now spread to every hospital in Boston except one, and will be started there within a month. It spread first to the Mount Sinai Hospital, then to others; the only hospital where it is not now in use is

the large municipal hospital, the Boston City Hospital.

"I think it seems a little less strange to our minds if we realize that this is nothing in the world but the juvenile court system, the probation system, applied to a hospital.

"The juvenile court system, which we have copied from you in Chicago, is a magnificent success, because it brings the human element into the courts and treats each child as an individual and not as a prisoner before the bar. Social service in the hospital is simply treating the individual as an individual, and not as a case." (Applause.)

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THE WORK OF THE CHICAGO VICE COMMISSION

On January 31, 1910, at a meeting of the Church Federation of Chicago, a resolution was passed requesting the Mayor of the city to appoint a commission to investigate the social evil in Chicago. This resolution was presented to the mayor, and on March 5th a commission was appointed. Later the commission was authorized by Council ordinance and an appropriation of \$5,000 for the expenses of the commission was secured. This appropriation was later supplemented by a like amount. Committees were appointed and investigators were secured, with the result that a very detailed report with recommendations was presented to the City Council, April 5, 1911.

On May 16, the report of the Vice Commission was discussed at the City Club by one of the members of that commission, Dr. A. W. Harris, President of the Northwestern University. Judge Stephen A. Foster, chairman of the meeting, in introducing the speaker, made the following remarks:

Stephen A. Foster

"We are to hear today the story of the Vice Commission of the City of Chicago. The wide scope of this undertaking is indicated by the terms of the ordinance under which the Commission

was appointed by the Mayor of this city. The ordinance provided that the Commission was 'to inquire into the conditions existing within the limits of the city with reference to vice in various forms, including all practices which are physically and morally debasing and degrading, and which affect the moral and physical welfare of the inhabitants of the city.'

"Appropriations were made by the City Council to the amount of \$10,000 for the expenses of the Commission, the members of the Commission serving without compensation. The ability and public spirit of the members of that Commission are well known and they discharged their arduous and unpleasant duties with a degree of zeal that might have been expected from men and women so devoted to the welfare of the community.

"The report of the Commission bares the social evil in all its hideousness, commercialized on a colossal scale, and shows how it takes and destroys the lives of the girls and boys and of the men and women of this community. Perhaps there is some grain of consolation for our local pride in the fact that the Commission finds that Chicago is far better than other large cities of the country proportionately to its size.

"I wish to call your attention to a bill

now pending in Springfield, known as Senate Bill No. 320, which provides for declaring houses of prostitution a nuisance, and for their abatement on the suit of an individual. I have not had an opportunity to carefully examine this bill, but I do know, from personal observation, that the situation in our courts with regard to this evil is well nigh intolerable. Prohibited by both state laws and municipal ordinances, houses of ill-fame still exist, as we all know, in large numbers, and the keepers thereof are well nigh immune from any prosecution. They are not molested—in the way of arrest, at least—by the police or by the prosecuting attorneys of this city or county. When called into court they openly admit their unlawful occupation and still they escape without punishment. This situation is demoralizing not only to the police, but to the whole administration of justice. If this Commission, through this legislation, the principle of which it has endorsed, can do something to help the administration of justice and to relieve it from that intolerable situation where a recognized crime is still tolerated by the courts, including the judges and the prosecutors, they certainly will have accomplished one great good for this community.

"In what I have said I am not reflecting upon the courts. Personally, I have been confronted by that same situation and have felt utterly hopeless and unable to deal with it. Outraged by the flagrant violation of law, in one instance, I ordered and insisted upon the arrest of one keeper of a house of ill-fame, who in my court has admitted his offense, but after I had fined the offender and seen the money paid over to the City of Chicago, I think I felt more humiliation than before. I felt that I had simply licensed that particular offender in the conduct of his illegal business.

"Among those who gave their time unselfishly to the work of the Commission in the investigation of this evil, was Dr. Harris, President of Northwestern University. He is to speak to you today on the work of the Vice Commission. I have pleasure in introducing to you Dr. Harris of the Northwestern University." (Applause.)

Dr. A. W. Harris

"Mr. Chairman: I am embarrassed this afternoon to attempt to present a question of the size in the time that is at all possible. I will propound three questions:

"What is the social evil? What is being done about it? What ought to be done about it? Of course the last question is the most important.

"At the very beginning, I ask you to indulge me while I read a few extracts from the statement which Mayor Busse gave to the public at the time that the Commission was appointed:

These (referring to the vice problems) are the most perplexing questions with which modern civilization is confronted. Since Chicago has been a city we have drifted as regards this question. In this we have not differed from other American cities.

As a matter of fact, the conditions incident to the problem in Chicago—a problem as old as the city itself—are better than they have ever been before within present-day memory.

* * * Many years ago, the authorities attempted to localize vice in certain districts of the city. * * * Executives have acted, in doing this, with the best motives, and often with the advice of ministers of the gospel and other men of character. The only criticism that can be offered is that none of these moves was based on careful investigation and far-seeing planning. Our statute books—state and municipal—are crowded with laws on the subject.* * *

We can, as a basis, agree, I believe, that the practice as to vice in Chicago has been of long continuance; and that, in this respect, we are no better and no worse than other American or European cities. These conditions are with us. To pretend that they do not exist is hypocrisy, far-reaching in its harmful effect.

These premises being accepted, we find that there are many questions springing from them to which thinking men and women, careful students of society and government, are giving deepest thought. Such questions are:

Should the existence of the 'social evil' and of the men and women connected with it be ignored?

Should vice be segregated? If so, what would be the method of maintaining control of segregated districts?

What is the best method of controlling communicable diseases? * * *

What treatment of vice as a disease of society is best for all concerned?

"There is one phrase in this statement I would like to emphasize: 'Vice as a disease of society.'

How the Investigation was Made

"The Commission consisted of thirty persons, two women and twenty-eight men, business men, philanthropists, ministers, physicians, lawyers, judges, teachers, and others. They organized by appointing sub-committees, by employing a secretary who had had experience in such work as the Commission was to undertake and then by appointing a group of investigators. These investigators were expected to go into the field and collect information at first hand. The secretary of the Commission was Mr. George J. Kneeland. The investigators were helped in their work by interviews and hearings. We listened to ministers of the gospel, keepers of saloons, judges, lawyers, representatives of philanthropic associations and to any others who thought they had a message.

"The investigators worked on many lines. They investigated real estate offices in order to determine how many, if any, real estate agents would knowingly rent buildings for immoral purposes. They investigated solicitation upon the streets, they investigated saloons, they talked with women of the streets, they made visits to houses, they made visits to other cities in order to determine the conditions there. Some of the members of the Commission also visited the segregated districts.

"There are, in Chicago, three pretty well defined restricted districts, one on the west, one on the north and one on the south. The district on the south, that in the vicinity of 22d street, is the best known and is usually described as 'the levee.' The Commission obtained from the police a list of the houses and the number of inmates. Then the investigators followed up these lists. We found that the police list, as originally given to us, included only a small part of the number of houses of prostitution in Chicago.

"The investigators found women upon the streets and in the saloons and traced them back to their houses. They also found a long list of flats used for immoral purposes. There is a technical distinction between a house and a flat when used for such purposes.

As a rule, in a flat, the women are not residents, but are called in by telephone when needed and are exchanged from flat to flat. These flats are found even in the best districts and are by no means confined to the restricted districts. Neither are houses confined to the restricted districts.

"We went into amusement places and investigated theaters. The ordinary theater was very little investigated, and there is practically nothing about it in the report. However, we investigated five-cent theaters rather carefully. The chief evil about them grows out of the necessary darkness. The performance in the five-cent theater, as a rule, is not very objectionable. I visited twelve or fifteen of them one evening, and I found no pictures that seemed to me to be objectionable. Practically all of them, in my judgment, were inane, but if they pleased the people who saw them they could not do much harm.

"We also investigated dance halls, and found them very commonly connected with saloons.

"Practically no investigation was made of the great evil of clandestine prostitution. We confined our work to public prostitution in houses, in flats, and in public places. The isolated prostitute who takes a man now and then to a room we were not able to follow. Experience has shown well that it is practically impossible to do anything with that problem.

The Commercializing of Vice

"The most important and the most startling fact in regard to prostitution—and I want to lay great emphasis upon it—is that public prostitution is already, or is rapidly becoming, a *commercialized* business. There is some indication that it is feeling the influence of the centralizing methods characteristic of other lines of business.

"In one of the restricted districts inmates were given warning that their houses must be closed, but they were allowed to move into other streets. When they attempted to do so, they found that the available properties were in the hands of a small group of men, who demanded in rents sums very much greater than had been paid in the old streets. I cannot say that we can prove there was a definite plan in this case,

nor did we establish a connection between the vacating of the first street and the opening of the second one. But it is clear that the segregation of prostitution gives opportunity for cornering available properties. That is all on the subject I can take time to say here, but it shows a method by which a small number of men may get a large grasp upon that business.

"Let me call your attention to a few facts in regard to the situation. If you have seen the report you will understand how utterly inadequate is any such attempt as this to make you understand what the conditions are. The report is not guesswork nor hearsay. If you read it you will find definite reference to definite times, places and people. These references are indicated in the report by numbers but the details are in the hands of the Commission and can be supplied if there is proper reason for calling for them.

"If you would understand the situation, read the report and study the long list of selected typical instances. Some of them may seem improper to present to an audience, but I venture to say that it is necessary to deal with such matters plainly. One of the first suggestions made to the Vice Commission was to select a more pleasant and less suggestive name. We did a wise thing when we decided to use no euphonism, to call vice, 'vice,' to call a harlot, a 'harlot.' The public must be brought to face the plain, unvarnished facts.

"Let me tell you one instance from hundreds of them. I one day heard this story told by a woman, whom, if you should pass her on the street, you would suppose to be a respectable woman. She was well but not loudly dressed. When asked what was her business, she said, 'I am a prostitute.' There was no evidence of embarrassment in telling it. She stated that she was twenty-eight years old and that she had been married at the age of fifteen and had been placed in a house of prostitution by her husband immediately after their marriage. In response to questions, she stated that she had one helper, that her charge for service was fifty cents and that her weekly earnings were three hundred dollars.

Time to Stop Drifting

"How can any decent community face such answers without feeling a tremendous shock. If we are drifting into a situation, that allows a woman to tell such a story of life in Chicago, it is time to stop drifting, and to ask what can we do about it.

"Now, what are you going to do about it? In the back of the report you will find page after page of law. What are we doing with that law? For the most part, we are not enforcing it. A great deal of the law is probably not enforceable; at any rate, it is not being enforced. It is commonly said that the Mayor ought to do this and the Mayor ought to do that; that the chief of police ought to do this and the chief of police ought to do that. Investigation led us to the opinion that the last chief of police made an honest and unusually successful endeavor to ameliorate the conditions. He established certain regulations, the most important of which was perhaps that prohibiting the sale of liquor in houses of prostitution. He forbade swinging doors and signs, the admission of boys to houses and the wearing of short dresses and transparent skirts by the women. There are many regulations—good regulations—and they are reasonably well enforced. Why are they not better enforced? Let me turn your attention to the financial features of the business.

"By taking the police list and such statistics of the business as we had, we reckoned out the profits in the city of Chicago. You will understand that any such conclusion must be inaccurate, in wide broad limits, but the error, in this case, is upon the side of conservatism. Exact records are kept in some of the houses. In the appendix to the report are pages taken from the account book of a house, showing how many men were served by each of the girls during one week. These pages are part of a court record. Based upon such data we estimated the profits from the business, including body profits and liquor profits, as amounting to \$15,000,000 a year. I personally believe that sum is entirely too small, and I am quite ready to accept even twice or four times as much. Is it then any wonder the law is not better enforced? We may not excuse a

public officer who fails to do his duty; but it is a tremendously difficult thing for a policeman to enforce laws against a business yielding such enormous profits.

Prostitution and the Liquor Business

"Furthermore note the connection of the business of prostitution and the liquor business. I am not one of those that believe that all men in the liquor business are necessarily bad. I remember an interview with a representative of the Liquor Dealers' Association, who spoke with the greatest indignation against prostitution and was particularly bitter against the corrupt saloons, that live very largely upon prostitution. He denounced them as indecent, as houses of prostitution. He was jealous of the reputation of his saloon as a decent and well conducted saloon. But there is a most intimate connection between liquor and lust. Every house of prostitution makes a large part of its profits from the sale of liquor. Just so soon as prostitution and liquor come together, the price of liquor goes up. The bottle beer, that sells for five cents over the counter, costs twenty-five cents at a table, if served to a man talking with a woman, and as she has a bottle also, the man pays in all fifty cents. Of this the woman gets 20 per cent as her fee. If the same sale is made upstairs, each bottle becomes a fifty-cent bottle. Cocktails served to women are often merely colored water.

"There are many saloons in which there are women solicitors. This liquor profit is the temptation that draws many women into evil ways. A woman drifts into the saloon in the first place because of sociability, or because she likes liquor. In a little while through encouragement she finds that she can make money by getting men to buy liquor for her, and soon the woman is 'hustling,' as the phrase is. In many saloons the bartenders and waiters are themselves agents for prostitution.

"Amusements have a very close connection with prostitution. Most of the dance halls which are connected with saloons, are unqualifiedly bad. In many cases the girl pays no admission fee or a very small one; the boy pays a larger fee. Our investigation shows that a

great many dissolute women began prostitution in the dance halls.

The Economic Side of the Question

"Another cause of prostitution is an economic cause, for which I am free to say that I see no easy remedy. In the city of Chicago a great body of young women are working for wages which are insufficient to maintain them. There are women working for four, five or eight dollars a week, who pay from this sum their living expenses, and provide themselves with amusement. The attempt is hopeless. The same woman whose wages, capitalized, amount to \$5,000 is worth \$25,000 as a mere body. It is easy for a girl who is getting only from \$4 to \$6 a week in a store, to earn \$50 a week as a prostitute. Beginning in a little way with one man or with two men, soon she is in the business to stay.

"It is not a simple question you have to deal with. What are you going to do about it? We have been drifting. The report makes nearly a hundred recommendations. Here are a few of the most important:

"Abolish liquor in dance halls. When that recommendation was under discussion, it was objected, 'That is impracticable. If you say that no liquor shall be sold at a dance, you will prevent the use of liquor at many prominent and fashionable dances.' There is a real difficulty; but the difficulty must be faced. The community ought to forbid the use of liquor in connection with dance halls.

"Divorce prostitution from saloons. There are saloons connected with houses of prostitution, or with assignation rooms over them. There are saloons connected with hotels which are used for assignation purposes. All these connections must be stopped. There ought to be no saloon in a house in which there is prostitution.

"Our recommendation on the amusement question may be called socialistic. The community must come to recognize that, just as it furnishes educational opportunities, just as it furnishes protection against sanitary dangers, it should provide proper and safe opportunities for amusement. And these must be suited to the tastes of those they serve.

"A saloon man when asked, 'Why not

forbid all women in saloons?' replied, 'A woman has a right to go in a saloon. It is the only decent place of amusement open to her. She cannot find amusement by going into a church, for the churches are all shut up. She may pass a dozen closed churches, in coming to my saloon. She cannot get into one of them, and if she did get in, they would want her to play tiddledewinks and go home at half past nine.' There is some truth in this. Many girls in questionable dance halls would prefer to be in decent dance halls if there were such.

Repression is Advocated

"The chief recommendation was repression as the immediate method; annihilation as the ideal. This community is not willing to recognize prostitution, which sells souls and body, as a thing to be tolerated. But it would be idle to expect to wipe out prostitution in a year. Therefore, we recommended as the method, persistent repression, ever working nearer to annihilation.

"It seemed to the Commission that the important thing was to find the root of the trouble, and then to strike at the root. Prostitution is to be treated not so much as a crime as a civic disease. The real weakness in our present method is this. We have enacted our ethical ideals as law—as Anglo-Saxons are very likely to do. By law we have declared that there shall be no prostitution. But as I talk to men on the streets, I find that very few of them believe that law to be enforceable. The legislature never enacted a law to control this situation which it believed would be enforced. The present laws cannot be enforced; things drift; the community despairs and ignores the situation. But something

must be done. So the legislative power and the legislative duty are passed over to the mayor, the chief of police, and the policemen. For the regulations in regard to the conduct of a house of prostitution there is no sufficient legal basis, for the house has no legal right to exist. Without authority, the police make regulations and with the same authority they brush them aside. As a result the police make or unmake the real law. You have law made while you wait. The same man or men, is the legislator, administrator and judge. This breeds tyranny, and against tyranny I know only one remedy, bribery, and the bribe makes the officers of the law partners in the crime. This situation is the cause of graft and the root of the evil of prostitution. To remedy this situation, we must find some proper legal basis for practicable regulation. The Commission therefore recommended not detailed methods of procedure—to do that would be like curing disease by correspondence. The Commission asked the appointment of a permanent body, to be called a *Morals Commission*, whose duty it should be to study this disease, to make a new diagnosis from time to time, and to apply new methods, to make ever new regulations.

"A second recommendation was the organization of a '*Morals Court*' which should deal with the cases connected with prostitution.

"We believe we have found a method that promises a patient and a scientific study of the problem. We are hoping the community will show sufficient interest to give these recommendations support.

"If you have not read the report, get it, read it and put your influence back of the recommendations." (Applause.)

THE BRITISH TOWN PLANNING ACT

The recent National Conference on City Planning, held at Philadelphia, May 15 to 17, was attended by several visitors from abroad. Mr. Thomas Adams, Town Planning Expert of the British Local Government Board, was present, and took part in the discussions on municipal real estate policies, housing and other matters there considered. Follow-

ing the Philadelphia conference, he came to Chicago and presented an address at the City Club on the practical operation and results of the British Town Planning Act. Prof. Charles E. Merriam presided.

Mr. Thomas Adams

"City planning is not merely a ques-

tion of the civic center. That is probably the aspect of which you have heard most in Chicago during recent years. It is not merely a question of how you shall locate your important public buildings, of how you shall cut new radiating streets through your present rectangularly laid out town, of how you shall lay out your water front, or of how you shall deal with the question of transportation.

"City planning means the consideration of the civic development from every point of view; not only from that of the present and future civic needs of the community, but also from that of its past historical growth, the geographical distribution of the various classes of industry and the situation of the various classes of persons who are taking part in building up these industries. The whole question of the home life and the recreation of the people, and the facilities for intercourse, for education and for general growth in any large-sized town or city are involved in the town planning movement.

"When you come to look at city planning from that particular, comprehensive point of view, you begin to realize how important it is that we should begin to consider how we are to control the future development of our towns.

"Americans have to face a state of affairs which has resulted from the very rapid growth of all their cities. Chicago is one of the surprises in the world in that connection. You have grown tremendously in the last fifty years. Had the city forefathers of Chicago, fifty years ago, been able to say to themselves, 'We know that Chicago is going to have two and a half millions of people in fifty years, and, as men of good judgment and common sense, we are going to plan for the growth of the city along lines which will best secure the commercial prosperity, the health and the well-being of such a community,' how much better you would be situated today, how many of these evils of which you complain would have been obviated, how much might be done to improve the conditions in which you live in this great city!

Chicago's System of Parks

"It is true that very much has been

done. It is true that you have one of the finest park systems perhaps that there is anywhere in the world. Many of your American cities can show an example in that connection which is worthy of emulation by every great city in Europe. That is because you have planned your park systems; you did not simply create them where there happened to be openings existing, which you thought could be best used in this way. You planned your park systems and your connecting system of boulevards many years before they were actually needed. You began, by voluntary effort, to employ experts to suggest to you the best way in which you should lay out your civic centers, and the proper placing of your public buildings, instead of merely securing the right kind of a design for each building without reference to the others.

"After all, we have devoted far too much attention and expense to having beautifully designed buildings, which we have placed on back streets, where they are never seen, and where their full beauty is entirely lost. We have begun to realize that fact in the old country; you have begun to realize it here, and are striving against it.

"I want to say in regard to your town planning work—and I say it without the slightest suggestion of criticism of what you are doing toward the development of your civic centers and the beautifying of your towns by parks and playgrounds—that I think you should go a little further than you have gone, and supplement your work by directing your town planning efforts to the improvement of the homes of the people.

"I want to appeal to you on that ground in the few words I am going to say with regard to the English Town Planning Act. I want to appeal to you from a purely utilitarian point of view. I am not going to attempt to impart any sentiment to what I am going to say. I know that, since I came to America, I have heard a great deal of the liberty and of the selfishness of the Americans, but at every point at which I come in contact with one, I realize that in all his activities there is a great deal of sentiment, mixed up with what he calls self-interest and his commercial enterprise.

"It is one of the most encouraging conditions in this connection that, when some of us are almost despairing about the efforts we are making through the channels of municipal enterprise, by elective machinery, we have a voluntary effort of a kind which is carrying on a crusade for the health and the betterment of the people which ought to secure a revolution in our methods in a very few years' time. That voluntary effort is more striking in this country, almost, than in mine. Here you have clubs and institutions in every one of your cities striking into every branch of social endeavor. I think it is impossible for such institutions to exist and to create the enthusiasm which they are creating without bringing about very substantial benefit to the community.

Town Planning in England

"Leaving that for the moment, I shall first of all tell you what we are doing in England, and shall then come back to the discussion of the city planning idea as applied to the home life of the people of the cities.

"While our town planning act in England is an act not directly for the purpose of creating civic centers, and not directly for the purpose of creating park systems, it has for its object the securing of 'amenity' advantages. This is a word which you do not use very much; it means the general improvement and betterment and beautification of the suburbs of our towns by preserving their trees and natural features, and by establishing some sort of architectural control.

"The object of the act is to secure the 'amenity' of these things for all practical purposes in regard to streets; for instance, or to the proper sanitary conditions of buildings. I want to emphasize, too, that these words apply to all the land that is unbuilt upon or in course of development.

"The object, you see, is to secure preventive, rather than merely remedial, measures. We do not intend to limit our efforts or our energies merely to the removal of the evils in the crowded parts of our cities, or to the creation of beautiful centers, especially where we cannot secure those without undue cost. We do not intend to limit our efforts to the providing of parks and open spaces. We

consider that the immediate, practical problem that can be solved without any cost to the community is that of controlling its future development. So, whatever we may do to remove the evils that have come down to us from our forefathers, we intend to see that, so far as we are concerned, there shall be no recurrence of those evils in our day and generation.

"In all our large cities there is a considerable area of land which remains undeveloped. It may surprise you to know that in England—which sometimes, on this side of the water, I am afraid, is represented as a decadent and a backward country—which you could put inside almost any of your states, during the last fifteen years, we covered 500,000 acres of land with increasing population. In London alone, during the last thirty years, we have built 550,000 extra houses for our people. This means that London increased its population by about two million and a half; in the last thirty years Chicago has been added to London.

The Development of New Areas

"During the next thirty years we will have to provide for another two and a half millions of people—for London expects to grow just as Chicago expects to grow. We must provide for these people on land that remains undeveloped; in the whole country, we must provide for the control of 500,000 acres of land. We have placed on the statute book the Town Planning Act, which so far as we can secure its application, is intended to control the future development of these new areas.

"Questions will arise in the minds of business men as to how this control is to be made effective. I sometimes hear a whisper from an American, 'What is the good of passing laws if you don't enforce them?' Well, we try to enforce our laws. I think in regard to the enforcement of every detail of the law, in regard to all building matters and all questions of sanitation and public health, our public bodies in England are absolutely above suspicion. The Town Planning Act involves the control of real estate interests throughout large areas. I doubt not that there are some here who are interested in real estate operations, who

will at once say, 'Where do I come in? Are you going to knock the gilt edge off my little investment? What do I care what is going to happen to the community if you are going to rob me of the right to do as I want with a particular piece of land in which I am interested?'

"In answer to such question, it may be said that the very purpose of this control is to secure co-operation between the real estate owner and the local authority. The injury to the community, which results from the haphazard development of real estate, and the injury to the real estate owner which sometimes results from the operations of the community, are due primarily to their lack of co-operation. In trying to secure the best of the bargain, they both secure the worst.

"I find that, in your country, there is actual co-operation in many of your large cities between the real estate owner and the community already. In several of your cities real estate owners have laid out their estates in an ideal way, so far as the provision of wide streets, beautiful surroundings and the proper site of their buildings is concerned. In this connection I will only mention Cleveland, with its Shaker Heights property, and Baltimore with the beautiful Roland Park suburb, as two examples of the many which exist.

"In these cases, the owners of considerable estates have agreed on certain lines of development with the central authorities. The only weakness of this method of co-operation is that, in twenty or thirty years' time, when there ceases to be any desire on the part of some particular owner to retain the advantages which he has secured by this co-operative development, he may sell his particular plot for the use of an apartment house or a bone factory or a fried fish shop. This property may adjoin that of a hundred other owners who have built residences costing ten, twenty or thirty thousand dollars each.

"This man, in order to secure that liberty which he prizes—and which I admire so much in the American citizen—in order to secure the liberty of erecting his fried fish shop on that plot of land, injures the property of a hundred more. Thus, he practically—though indirectly

—robs them of a considerable portion of their investment.

"Under the English Town Planning Act, the principle is recognized that, where it is to the interest in the first instance, of the real estate owner and the community to agree upon a certain method of development, it is no injustice to establish that method of development permanently and to make it apply to that neighborhood.

The Width of Streets

"Take the question of the widths of streets. At the present time, where you have to have a general rule in regard to the width of streets, where you have to determine a minimum as the width of every street, no matter what houses are to be built upon it, you compel the man who is going to erect a few small cottages along a street, to make it as wide as that upon which a four or five story block of tenements is to be built. That is bad economy and unsound business, and should not be encouraged. But it cannot be evaded under a general code, because the general code has for its object the limitation of the evil doer rather than the encouragement of the well-doer. The well-doer is thus brought down to the level of the evil-doer. The man who wants to escape sanitation is the man for whom sanitary laws are provided. Where certain minimum conditions are established, the man who intends to do well is 'cribbed, cabined and confined' as the result of laws which are intended to apply to others who are not so anxious to do well as himself.

"A satisfactory town planning scheme will leave the width of the streets to be determined in every case by the purpose for which those streets are intended to be used. If the city wants a hundred-foot thoroughfare it may allow the owner of abutting property to have a narrow street, in one case, on condition that he give up the land for the wider street where it is wanted.

"As an example, in England, under our general code, the minimum width of a street is 36 feet, and we can not compel the owner to pay for any greater width, except in some of the large cities where the minimum is forty or fifty feet. Under that general rule, if we want to make a wider street, we must

buy the land for that purpose. Under the town planning scheme, however, we can adopt a scheme which comprises a hundred-foot street, where it is required, and a twenty-foot street, where that is sufficient.

"You may ask, 'How do you provide for plenty of air space for your houses that are erected on 20-foot streets?' We determine the question of air space on its own merits, without reference to the width of the streets. We say that no more than a certain number of houses shall be erected on an acre, and that there must be fifty or sixty feet between every row of houses. This question is, therefore, treated entirely as a separate matter.

"Now, it is unfair, and it is not good business sense to erect small cottages for workingmen on a street one hundred feet wide, that costs three times as much as the men can possibly afford to pay. The economical program is not to erect such property facing a street, the cost of construction and maintenance of which is more than that property can stand.

Town Planning and Public Health

"We come now, to consider the town planning act, as it affects the public health. Where injury is caused to the real estate owner we have to provide for compensation. Injury, however, cannot be caused by the limitation of the number of houses per acre, for the land has not yet arrived at that stage, where a vested interest has been created in the erection of large buildings. If, therefore, in the opinion of the community and the local government board, it is desirable to limit the number of houses per acre in the interest of public health, that can be done without giving rise to any claim for compensation on the part of the owner of land.

"If you go a sufficient distance out from Chicago you will, of course, find a great difference in the value of the land as compared with that which is in the center of this city. You can buy land there for almost nothing as compared with what you can buy it for where it is to your interest to erect large tenements.

"If the development of such land had been properly controlled, say fifty or a hundred years ago, and if the particular kinds of buildings that were going to be

erected upon it had been determined, no injustice would have been done to the real estate owner by reason of that control, but since he has already placed one of his buildings upon it, you cannot apply these limitations on its use. We are, therefore, applying these conditions to the land that still remains undeveloped.

"It is also provided that if a scheme of this kind is of any benefit to the owner of land, half of that benefit is to come back to the community. The scheme is so arranged that the owner does not have to pay for that benefit until he receives it. Very often you have great difficulty in this country in carrying out an improvement scheme, because you find that no jury will allow you to charge the cost of betterments to a man who is not immediately benefited by them. His property may increase in value, but he has no means of realizing on it, and the jury, of course, won't compel him to mortgage his property in order that you should receive the benefit of the increased values. Under the town planning act, it is so arranged that the cost of the betterment may be paid in installments, or may be paid when the benefit has actually accrued to the owner of the property.

The Purchase of Park Lands

"We have another provision to the effect that public park spaces may be obtained by compulsory purchase without having to pay any extra cost above the marketable value of the land. That purchase price is arrived at by arbitration of one individual appointed by the local government board. There is no appeal to the courts, and the matter is settled simply as to the value of the land in the open market. That is a simple operation, which would enable you to undertake many things which would otherwise require years and years to carry out. I have been told that one real estate operation alone in the City of New York in regard to a piece of land about 200 yards square took eighteen months to settle.

"I am told that in our country we must be very docile to submit to conditions of the kind I have described. I have rather come to the conclusion that the docility is with those who submit to the conditions as they now are, and

not with those who want to improve them.

"Some one has suggested that town planning is a joke. I want to reply, as did G. K. Chesterton, a well-known writer in our country, that the monstrous things we put up with now, the bad streets, the foul ventilation and the inadequate means of providing for the proper health of the people were a monstrous joke, and not the proposal that we should try to improve those conditions.

"We must remember that the citizens of our country are the basis of our wealth; we must remember that 'health is wealth.' I have had the privilege of attending your Child Welfare Exhibit in this city, and I have seen many things which encourage me to think that you, in Chicago, ought to consider how far such provisions as I have indicated might be applicable to your conditions in this great city. I find that last year 3,500 of your children died from preventable diseases, largely due to the conditions in which they lived, the manner in which they were housed, the bad air in which they were nourished and to the lack of knowledge on the part of their mothers. I find also that you have a very large percentage of dark rooms in the crowded parts of the city.

"I think we must realize the importance not only of educating our children, but also of seeing that we are able by building up their physique and moral character, to get the real and the full benefit of our investment in their education.

"I think Americans have come to recognize the pecuniary value of having good citizens brought into this country from the outside, and I believe that they actually calculate that pecuniary benefit in dollars. If that is true, you also must place a very high value on every good, healthy child that you rear in your own community. On that account, you should value the importance of the child's environment.

"I frequently hear, furthermore, that, after two or three generations, the undesirable immigrant, owing to the influence of your American life, becomes a desirable citizen. That is to say, your environment has enabled him to arise out of the circumstances and the bad condi-

tions of life in which he has formerly been placed, and to enter into the full enjoyment of a better and broader citizenship.

The Broader Aspects of Town Planning

"Having realized the effect of that better environment upon your immigrants, having realized the cash value of making your children healthy as well as of educating them properly, you should, may I suggest, as far as you have not done so already, broaden out your town planning schemes so as to touch intimately the home life of the people, not merely by providing them with recreation spaces and parks, not merely by encouraging their civic pride by the erection of beautiful buildings, but by providing them with splendid ventilation, plenty of sunshine, and, if necessary, with some garden spaces to cultivate, in which to spend their leisure time. So, the children of the future would, at least, have better conditions in which to grow up than the children of the past.

"After all, it is that great army of workers between the very, very poor and the very, very rich on whom all of us depend. Mr. Lever, the great soap manufacturer of Port Sunlight, is appreciative of the benefit which accrues to him as the result of providing his working people with decent homes. He says that these homes represent at least a dollar per week additional profit on account of the increased physical efficiency of the workmen.

"Adam Smith, the famous philosopher, said that the most costly merchandise to move was human merchandise. The most costly people to move from the suburbs to the congested center are the people who are obliged to live ten and twenty miles away from their work. That is because we have our factories and our workshops congested in the center. We need to consider the desirability of extending them out into the suburbs and thus of spreading out the people."

Mr. Adams was asked to say a word about some of the schemes that have already been started under the Town Planning Act. He said:

"I omitted to say that in England there is every evidence on the part of the local authorities, that they intend to use this act. Initiative rests with the local au-

thority or with the owner. The owner may initiate a scheme and the local authority is bound to adopt it; or the local authority may propose a scheme and ask the owner to co-operate with them in its use.

"I believe that, at present, about thirty towns and cities throughout England are preparing schemes; within the last year, we passed schemes covering ten thousand acres of land, restricting the number of houses thereon and securing proper sanitary conditions.

"I may further add to this, for those who are interested in real estate and who may perceive legal difficulties in the way of getting the owner to co-operate in such schemes, that in no case has there been any difficulty, on the part of these municipalities, in arriving at an agreement with the owners. There is actually a desire on the part of the real estate owners to enter into this town planning so long as it is carried out without any injustice to themselves and at a time before the vested interest in the erection of large and unsanitary buildings upon it is created."

MR. GEORGE E. HOOKER: "Mr. Adams in his short stay here has discovered something that I think is unknown to most of us, that is, Roland Park in Baltimore. I wonder if he will say a word about that little private enterprise?"

A Baltimore Scheme

MR. ADAMS: "I have already been called a 'booster, for Baltimore' because I referred to Roland Park in another city. If I had the opportunity to go around, I would find something similar to Roland Park in Chicago.

"Within the first few days after I arrived in this country, I found that a

great many of your countrymen believe in the sentiment which is expressed in one of Cowper's poems, that:

'Tis liberty alone
That gives to life its sweetness and perfume;
We're weeds without it.

"They even go further and try to make out that one man's liberty overlaps to a considerable extent that of another man. At Baltimore, the gentleman, who has in hand the scheme to which Mr. Hooker has referred, insisted upon restrictions in the use of the land. At first he experienced considerable difficulty, but after a time, when the prospective purchasers began to realize the benefits of these restrictions to them, he found that they were all eager to buy. The property is now filled up and he is acquiring another large estate, I think of six hundred acres. When a man builds a home at a cost of ten, twenty or thirty thousand dollars he may prefer the immediate security against the erection of undesirable buildings which these restrictions give to him, rather than the probable value, fifty years hence, of the right to open a factory on that plot and get double the money for it. That security is of great value to him and he appreciates it. If men who are building houses of that value on plots that cost four or five thousand dollars each, are prepared to submit to restrictions, there is no serious infringement of liberty. But where one man on an estate does transgress, every other man claims the same right. So long as you maintain equality, nobody suffers. The individual owner submits to slight restrictions to secure the benefit to himself of a hundred others submitting to the same restrictions, thereby maintaining the value of the property in which each has invested his money." (Applause).

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GARDEN CITIES IN ENGLAND

On Monday, May 29, at the Great Northern Hotel, Mr. Raymond Unwin of London, the second of the guests of the Philadelphia Conference on City Planning to visit Chicago, addressed a meeting of the City Club on the subject of Garden Cities in England. Mr. Unwin was accompanied by his wife. A large number of outside guests from the Chicago Architectural Club, the Chicago Real Estate Board and the Woman's City Club were present.

Mr. Unwin in 1905-6 laid out Letchworth, the so-called "First Garden City," and later planned the suburb of Hampstead, which he described in the course of his address.

Mr. I. K. Pond, President of the American Institute of Architects, presided. Previous to his introduction of the speaker Mr. Pond referred as follows to the unveiling of the monument to Major L'Enfant at Washington:

Mr. I. K. Pond

"We Chicagoans frequently seem to think that what we do is being done for the first time. We often forget that there is history back of us. Our city plan is not the first city plan in America. When Washington had in mind the laying out of the national capital, he called to his assistance an army engineer, Maj. Pierre Charles L'Enfant. L'Enfant was a man of large and lofty ideals. With Washington, he conceived the idea of a great capital which should outrank in beauty the capitals of the world. In their desire to attain this end, they staked out those broad streets and avenues, the beauty and symmetry of which thousands of people today contemplate and enjoy.

"L'Enfant died almost in obscurity, but his reputation was not to be lost. The American Institute of Architects, realizing the grandeur of his plan and seeing

it encroached upon in the later development of the city, called a halt and, through the instrumentality of Congress, had the old plan rehabilitated. A week ago today the monument to Charles L'Enfant was unveiled in the cemetery at Arlington, just in front of the Lee mansion, on a knoll overlooking the capital city. On that occasion President Taft, Ambassador Jusserand and Senator Root paid homage to this man of great vision. The Washington papers have gone very fully into a description of the affair, and their editorials and their reports make good reading. The 'Star' says that we can best honor L'Enfant and ourselves by emulating his spirit, not by simply developing the small Washington which he planned—which is about one-fifth the size of the present city—but by developing the great city as he would have developed it.

"The commission which developed the L'Enfant plan, located at the Potomac River, just opposite Arlington, at the far end of the principal axis of that plan,—at the head of which is the capitol, and in the center of which is the Washington Monument—the proposed memorial to Lincoln, a monument commensurate with the capitol itself. Various interests are striving to have that monument placed in some other part of the city. One wishes it to be made a decorative feature of the great Union Station. Another wants to put it up on the hill to serve as a real estate signboard. Others have their own personal ideas as to where that monument should be placed and why. But the great disinterested body of lovers of beauty and reverers of Lincoln believe that this monument to the greatest American should be on that point where the commission planned it.

"L'Enfant's homage came to him long after his death, but there are others today who are doing things, who are having visions, dreaming dreams and producing

realities, and they are receiving recognition. Not least among these is our guest of today.

"Mr. Unwin might by simply reading the headings of the chapters of his book on 'Town Planning in Practice,' make you a pretty good speech: 'Civic Art as the Expression of Civic Life,'—too deep a subject to go into today—"The Individuality of Towns,' 'Formal and Informal Beauty,' etc. Mr. Unwin is here and is going to give us some of his ideas, and we are going to enjoy and profit by his presence." (Applause.)

Mr. Raymond Unwin

"Several things have impressed me very much in my hurried visit to Chicago. Chicago has no reason to be ashamed of its statue of Lincoln. And among the institutions which filled me with pleasure and hope for the future of this and other cities, I may mention Hull House, where I have had the pleasure of meeting your world-famed citizen, Miss Addams.

"Your City Clubs appear to me to be wonderful institutions. Since coming to this country I have met the City Club of Boston, I have met the City Club of Philadelphia, and now I have the honor and privilege of addressing the City Club of Chicago. I wish we had City Clubs in some of our English towns, because I think we need them badly. I shall do my best to see if we cannot have them when I get back, because they are admirable institutions.

"I have been in Chicago nearly two days, and I seem to have spent most of that time in going at full speed through your wonderful parks and boulevards. Such an extensive area of magnificent boulevards, parks and playgrounds, I have never seen in any place—and I have seen some American cities of no mean extent.

"I am particularly pleased and interested with the high state of efficiency to which you have brought the smaller playgrounds, because it seems to me that it is possible, in these smaller playgrounds, to get in closer touch with the life of the people—and particularly with that of the children—than is possible by means of the larger parks. Therefore, they especially appeal to me. But I must not be tempted in the short space at my

disposal to talk to you of my impressions of Chicago, though I am naturally very full of them at the moment.

"I was invited here to speak to you about our city planning work in England and I am pleased to do so, because in one way it has developed rather peculiarly and, I think, rather healthily from its small beginnings.

The Art of Town Planning

"It seems to me that our method of city planning has emphasized what I think is a very important fact for city planners all over the world to remember, namely, that the art of city planning, like all other art, is primarily a form of expression and that it is only healthy and sound when it is a natural, straightforward and honest expression of the needs of the community. Art is not the trimming to be put on like lace and furbelows. If it is good art, it must express these various community needs in their due proportion and with proper emphasis on the relations of each part to all the other parts. I do not say that there should be no trimming; far from it. But I do say that the trimming is least essential; it simply adds play of thought and humor to the completed work. We should think of art, primarily, as Professor Lethaby once defined it, 'the well doing of what needs doing.' It is the well doing that really matters.

"I will try to sketch to you hastily, with the assistance of some slides, the story of how city planning in England has developed. It began in a small way with attempts to improve the dwellings of the people. We have had in England, as you have had in your American states, the great problem—still serious, of course, but not so much so as before—of how, for the vast aggregation of people pressing to live near together in the cities, causing high land values and congestion of population, it was possible to find houses which shall give them an opportunity for a reasonable and comfortable life, such as they must have, unless the civilization which results in our great cities is to be regarded a failure. So long as the civilization of great cities depends upon the herding of vast crowds of men in congested streets without proper air, without proper sunlight, without other conditions, under which their children

can grow up healthily and as sane creatures, that civilization is a failure.

"We may have great beauty in our cities, we may have ideal civic centers, we may have ideal suburbs for the rich, but, as long as the mass of the people live in such places as are, I am sorry to say, to be found in our Londons and Manchesters and in your New Yorks.

We laid down in our minds the idea that every room in every cottage must have plenty of light and some sunshine. We planned the cottages so that they should have plenty of room and we found that that meant a minimum frontage for different classes of houses. Then we set to work to arrange them in groups.

"In England it was customary to make



HAMPSTEAD GARDEN SUBURB—Houses built around three sides of quadrangle.

Philadelphias and Montreals, we cannot be satisfied with things as they are.

"We had many difficulties in England, as a result of attempting to crowd too many people on the land. The narrow frontages of the lots frequently had the effect of forcing the houses to grow out behind, blocking the air and sunshine. That is an acute problem in many other places.

"Here is another sketch showing the utter disregard for the well doing of anything, which was characteristic of our English suburbs a few years ago. In this sketch, you see one row of cottages coming to a sudden stop and the back of the row on the next street carefully turned towards the front of this street without regard to order or beauty or anything else.

"In London we began to consider whether it was not possible to work out some better system of housing than this. We began with the individual cottage.

almost endless rows of one stereotyped form of cottage. Dozens of cottages of uniform design were sometimes placed in a row without any break or variation, producing an impression of great monotony. We thought that, if we could treat several of these cottages as a group, it would be possible to arrange them in a more interesting way

Natural Beauty Preserved

"We then began to give attention to the sites upon which the cottages were to be built. We began to realize that city planning must be a combination of the art of man and the beauty of nature and that one of the first things to be remembered in the planning of cities is that any site, which is to be covered with buildings, should be approached with reasonable respect for the beauty already upon it and that as much of that beauty as possible should be preserved. We, therefore, preserved the trees and the hedge

rows, so that the sites should not look so bare from the beginning. Then we tried to make the streets more attractive by arranging the cottages in groups.

"It was the suggestion of Mr. Ebenezer Howard that we should lay out a new city which would show what might be done by intelligent city planning. So a company with a limited dividend was formed and this company bought an estate of forty acres at Letchworth, outside

tain amount realized on individual shares, so that, although none of the houses are owned by the individuals who live in them, each man has a certain interest in the estate. Gradually, from the interest which accrues on the shares, from the profits on the rent, each tenant gets a larger and larger holding in the estate. The loan stock is gradually paid off, and the day will come when practically all of the houses will be owned in common by



HAMPSTEAD GARDEN SUBURB—A road intersection so treated as to give an "enclosed" effect.

of London. We laid out its civic center. We tried to combine a certain amount of formality in the lines of the plan with a great deal of regard for natural features of the site—which is undulating and wooded. We placed our factories on the east so that our prevailing wind, which is from the southwest, would carry their smoke and noise from the town. We excluded factories from the residential portion of the town, so that any man who cared to build a house in Letchworth might know that he would never be troubled by the smoke and noise and unsightliness of these industrial establishments. Then we began to plan a very good system of roads.

"In England we have associations, called 'co-partnerships,' which are formed by workmen for the common ownership of their homes. A certain amount of capital is borrowed and a cer-

the people who live in them. In addition to that, they will own their institute and its bowling green, their play center, and their various communal institutions. Thus, all of the people have a share in the great advantages to be derived from the use of land.

"We found on working out the problems of suburban development that one of the greatest difficulties was that too many people would crowd upon the land. I have recently been studying this problem to learn the advantages, financial and other, if any, of this crowding of the houses upon the land. It is a remarkable fact that the financial advantage is much smaller than is ordinarily supposed. Although the tenant who occupies a small plat pays a little less for it than for a larger one, he pays very much more per yard. The increased cost of the larger plat may be 60 per cent, whereas, the size

of that plat may be 300 per cent larger.

"Moreover, where more houses are crowded upon a given area of land, in order to get the same frontage to the increased number of houses, a large portion of that land will be used up in roads that reduce the size of the plat. That road area, too, costs so much a square yard for sewer and other improvements and the cost of construction and maintenance is thereby increased.

ting through roads or of going ahead with other improvements without disturbing existing arrangements. We are having some difficulty because we have not been able to buy all the land necessary to increase the Hampstead garden suburb in accordance with our plans. We are also having difficulty with the development of a satisfactory scheme to lead up to our civic center.

"Transportation is good; the workmen



HAMPSTEAD GARDEN SUBURB—Street commanding a park as a terminal.

"Fifteen cents per week is the ground rent paid by a workman for a little piece of land of an area of 127 yards. For twenty-five cents per week he can get 423 square yards and the landlord earns just as much on his land. Can you imagine anyone so foolish as to pay fifteen cents for 127 pounds of flour when he can go into the next street and buy 433 pounds of flour for only twenty-five cents? That is the answer to the housing problem, according to the Garden City scheme. At Hampstead, five miles from London, we offered to the London workmen 433 yards of land for twenty-five cents, whereas, in other parts of London, he is paying fifteen cents for 127 yards.

Hampstead Garden Suburb

"Hampstead was laid out at a time when a part of it was in an estate and we, therefore, had an opportunity of put-

are within easy distance of the tram or the tube to the city of London.

"We have been trying to arrange tidier street corners by building special groups of houses around them. Another thing which is of interest is that you may build up interesting street pictures by a little thought and a little imagination. I don't want anybody over here to imagine that the choice in city planning lies between a formal checker board arrangement and an entirely informal arrangement such as some of the German towns are adopting today. I believe that in many ways, the formal system is the best and I believe that with care and imagination, beautiful streets can be built on quite formal lines by simply manipulating the building line a little.

"Here is a picture of a street which illustrates it. First of all, we wanted the entrance to the street to look nice. We

then wanted to get a little break in the street, so, the street being very wide for the height of the cottages, we brought forward two buildings. That makes a picture just as interesting as if it were quite informally treated. In fact, I think it is a more beautiful picture because it is in keeping with that order and arrangement and symmetry which is really a part of the architectural treatment.

"Here is a picture of the village green

suburb where it has been occupied for as much as two months.

"To avoid the dust and smell from automobiles and other vehicles, we are building many of our houses on three sides of a quadrangle. Each house gets the sun and air and the little open space in front keeps it away from the road and at the same time gives it more privacy. Some of the houses have a green in the front on which tennis can be played.



HAMPSTEAD GARDEN SUBURB—Houses so grouped that their varied facades form a pleasing composition.

with the children playing on it. The picture shows the club with the entrance to a little court yard, where tea is served in the open air. The club has billiard rooms and a ladies' reading room up stairs. We will have in our civic center a large institute, which is being developed, under Mrs. Burnett's very able direction into a center for the intellectual life of the community.

"Here is a picture of one of the streets where we planted two rows of almond trees, so that we might get in that street the earliest blossoms that come in our country. We are planting the other streets with other kinds of trees so as to provide a particular type of beauty for each street.

"We have found that the city dweller when he comes to Hampstead develops a love of gardening, and I may say truthfully we have not an untidy garden in the

These things are provided for the peace and enjoyment of the people.

The City Planning of the Greeks

To illustrate how thoroughly the Greeks appreciated the importance in town building, of combining often very ordinary designs with great irregularity of the site on which the town is placed, I will show you a picture of a reproduction of the inner part of the town of Ephesus, with its recreation place for the Greek students, its great center agora and its little business agora, its theater, and the magnificent group of public buildings which formed such a contrast to the simple dwellings in which the people lived. They rose in terraces, one above the other, until the very tops of the houses in the back were crowned with temples. The whole magnificent city, its water front and mountain top were welded to-

gether in one beautiful creation, by which the imagination of man gave expression to the life of the community and to the site upon which the city was placed. Thus, instead of destroying the beauty of nature, the efforts of man were combined with it in such a way as to bring out even greater beauty than before. Here is the garden, which, formal as it seems to have been, shows how wonderfully the artist grasped the scenic possibilities of the sit-

central feature, which should dominate the design; you should then have your supplemental features. You should have your ward centers and your main working design, which would consist of the great boulevards or parkways leading up to those centers, and out into the country in other directions; then you have your minor streets, which should be designed afterwards, and which should be in true relation to the main streets.



HAMPSTEAD GARDEN SUBURB—These houses are built in groups of two or four together, and are then disposed on three sides of an open green. The treatment of the windows, roofs, and chimneys illustrates the architectural care devoted to garden city schemes.

uation. Those who sat at the top of the terrace in the autumn and saw that water glimmering like molten gold at the setting of the sun, must have realized how carefully the designers had laid it out. It was a magnificent combination of the art of design with the contours of the ground, producing a great result.

I have spoken just a little about the importance of the elements of design in the towns of England. I will close with two or three words on that point, because it seems to me especially important for you Americans to realize, on account of the difficulties which they have with their checkerboard street plan, that the principles upon which city planning are based are exactly those principles which go to building up any design. You should first have your main

Here is a plan, made by the great German architect, Sitte, which shows a framework of straight roads where he wanted the traffic to go, and in true relation thereto, this system of little streets. Thus beginning with the homes of the people, and working up to the civic centers, you will find that the true principles of artistic expression, if you can only understand them, will give the best expression to the life of the community." (Applause.)

Mr. Unwin was asked to say a word about the co-partnership scheme, under which the garden cities have been built.

Co-partnership Housing

MR. UNWIN: "With reference to the co-partnership system of housing, I may illustrate the plan in this way: A

group of men organize a society into which they put a little money and in which they take shares. On the strength of that security they are able to borrow more money and with it to build a number of houses. In England there is a law which allows the government to assist such development by an extension of credit. A co-partnership society, having a nucleus of money with which to build home houses, can borrow from the government, at a low rate of interest, an amount of money which does not exceed two-thirds of the value of the houses. As you know, interest is lower in England than it is here. The market rate of interest for the shares in the co-partnership society we may say, is five per cent, and for the loan stock, which is more fully secured on the property, four per cent. From the government the society can borrow a certain amount of money at three and one-quarter per cent. When the scheme has been launched and some houses are up, the work proceeds rapidly, for others are then glad to lend their money. Thus, in some cases, the society is able to finance its undertakings with capital for which it pays an average rate of interest of very little over four or four and a quarter per cent.

"Different societies are federated, so they are able to buy all their materials in the very best possible way. If they want timber they send a man over to Norway or Sweden. They buy it in large quantities and bring it over by the shipload for distribution to the different places where building is going on. They have their own building department and do their own building. In these ways they make many economies which are not possible to the individual builder.

"The people who live in these houses are tenants of the society. It is much more convenient for the workman not to own his house, for if he does own a house he is tied to it. If he gets an offer of a position which would give him more congenial work or better pay in another town, he cannot take it, because he would have to sacrifice his home. There may be a depression in trade which will force him to move to some other town for work. The expense of getting the agent to look after his house, of selling it or even of holding

it, is so great that it is really a ruinous proposition for him.

"In a co-partnership society the man puts in what money he has at hand and his shares accumulate a little from the interest, and then from the dividends that are paid. When he gets out of work and wants to go to another town, his money is available, for the society is glad to buy up his shares at par value. He goes away with the ready money, and he is in the best possible condition to start again in the next town, instead of having to pay up installments on his house. Altogether, the system is found to work admirably.

"We have also a complicated system relating to repairs. Each tenant is given an interest in the repairs of his own house. If the repair fund falls below a certain sum, he shares in the advantages; if it goes above a certain sum he contributes his portion, so that every man is interested in keeping his house in order.

"Then tenants also have a share in the management. It is the simplest thing in the world for them to appoint a committee to look after the bowling green, another to look after the tennis courts, another to look after the club, and another to look after the horticultural society. Therefore this system gives an opportunity for the natural expression of that common life, that association to do great things by sane effort, which the individual cannot do by himself, which is, after all, the basis of all town life. Town life exists for this alone, that by associating together and using our brains and common influence to a common end, we can live a greater life than we can live as detached individuals. If we do not come together in towns for that reason, for what do we come together? Aristotle defined a town as a place where men live together a common life for a noble end.

"I believe the co-partnership principle is a success because it has developed on natural lines. Those are the only lines on which town planning can be a success. Some great outsider cannot dictate the plan upon which your city is to develop, and which you must accept. City planning must be the natural outgrowth of the life and wishes of the people; then it will be successful." (Applause.)

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DWIGHT L. AKERS, Editor

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Annual Reports of Civic Committees

April 1, 1910, to March 31, 1911

The plan of having committees of the City Club which should consider, and, under the supervision of the Directors of the Club, take action upon public questions, was inaugurated February 14th, 1906. Twenty-one such committees were appointed at that time, each consisting of five members. They were revised in May, 1908, and in February, 1910. They are again being revised at the present time, and the plan of yearly appointment will probably be followed hereafter.

The annual reports of these committees, submitted to the Directors at the annual meetings of 1907-1910, inclusive, have been bound in manuscript form and are on file in the Library. They were thought to be too voluminous for presentation to the membership at large. For the fiscal year ending April 1st, 1911, however, the various committee chairmen were requested to prepare, in addition to their complete annual reports, brief summaries of those reports which might be presented to the Club and be published in the Bulletin. At a special Club luncheon held April 25th last the committee chairmen accordingly gave condensed accounts of the work of their committees for the preceding year, and those condensed statements, with slight modifications, are given below. They will afford the members of the Club a brief survey of the activities of the civic committees. Footnotes are appended in a number of instances bringing these statements down to date.

The Purposes of Committee Work

The general purpose of those committees was referred to by Civic Secretary Hooker at the luncheon on April 25th as follows:

"One of the objects of the civic committees of the City Club is to increase the information of the committee members. Sometimes committees, and especially their chairmen, feel that, if they have not a long list of specific accomplishments to catalogue at the end of the year, their record is a proper subject of apology. I do not feel so. To increase the number of citizens in the community who are discriminating and well informed concerning public matters is to perform a very valuable public service.

"The chief object in our committee work is to assist the established political agencies of the community in their duties. The object is not to supplant those

agencies, not to take over the work which they are created to perform; but by gathering information, by suggestion, by conference, by encouragement, and sometimes, if necessary, by criticism, to afford them such aid as laymen can afford public authorities in the performance of their assigned duties."

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CITY PLANNING

Jens Jensen, Chairman.

<i>John W. Alvord</i>	<i>A. C. McArthur</i>
<i>Elmer S. Batterson</i>	<i>A. A. Packard</i>
<i>George N. Carman</i>	<i>Honore Palmer</i>
<i>Henry E. Coonley</i>	<i>Dwight H. Perkins</i>
<i>William Drummond</i>	<i>William A. Peterson</i>
<i>William A. Evans</i>	<i>Hopewell L. Rogers</i>
<i>Hugh M. G. Garden</i>	<i>George C. Sikes</i>
<i>J. Paul Goode</i>	<i>Robert Stevenson, Jr.</i>
<i>Elmo C. Lowe</i>	<i>Thomas W. Swan</i>

A City Survey

The Committee on City Planning, last year, began a study of physical Chicago. For this purpose, it prepared, in outline form, an exhaustive analysis of the subject. The Committee expects to continue its research until a large and important body of facts relating to Chicago's physical, economic and social characteristics is acquired. This study is based on the theory that intelligent city planning must recognize the fundamental factors in the city's development.

As a part of this investigation, there were held, under the auspices of this committee, seven evening meetings—following informal dinners, to which members of other civic committees were invited—devoted to discussions of certain phases of the physical framework of Chicago. A list of topics and speakers follows:

The Hinterland of Chicago—Prof. J. Paul Goode.

The Sewerage and Drainage Problem of Chicago—Dr. J. H. Long, C. D. Hill and Langdon Pearse.

The Water System of Chicago—Dr. Adolph Gehrman, Horace S. Baker, John A. Kleine, Langdon Pearse.

The Electrical System of Chicago—W. L. Abbott, E. N. Lake and H. H. Evans.

The Harbor Situation in Chicago—George C. Sikes and Hoyt King.

The Electrical Network of the City (second discussion)—P. Jungersfeld, J. G. Wray and Kempster B. Miller.

The Geography of Chicago—Prof. R. D. Salisbury and D. H. Perkins.

Most of these addresses were illustrated.

An excursion on both branches of the Chicago River was taken last June for the purpose of making the committee acquainted with present conditions on the river, and with the opportunities for its future development.

French and German City Planning

During the past winter, two of a series of national dinners were given by this committee, the first devoted to an illustrated address by Jens Jensen, on "French Cities;" the second to an illustrated address by George E. Hooker, on the "Spirit and Practice of German City Planning." Ladies were invited to these meetings.

The noon meetings of the committee were concerned mostly with topics of immediate, practical interest. Two sessions were devoted to the discussion of the West Side Postoffice Site, and two to the proposed widening of Twelfth street.

From time to time the committee has had as its guests persons who have given much time and thought to the problem of city improvement. Mr. Harold Rowntree, in a paper entitled "A Chicago of Ten Millions," illustrated by maps and drawings, discussed plans for an improved city. His paper, with its accompanying illustrations, have become the property of the Club. Mr. Henry E. Cordell presented a plan for elevated streets in Chicago. Mr. Albert H. Scherzer spoke on the importance of the industrial use of the Chicago River. Two meetings, led by Mr. Drummond and Mr. Packard, of the committee, were devoted to a discussion of the possibilities of applying the zone system of building regulation in Chicago.

Last summer, the committee was represented at the Second National Conference on City Planning held in Rochester, New York, by Mr. E. S. Batterson and Mrs. George E. Hooker. Mr. Hooker also represented this committee and this Club as a delegate to the City Planning Exposition held in Berlin last summer.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON TRAFFIC AND TRANSPORTATION

Samuel Dauchy, Chairman

*Norman K. Anderson
Royal W. Bell
A. T. H. Brower
George W. Dixon
Willard E. Hotchkiss
Charles W. Loddell
L. C. Marshall
John E. May
Wiley Wright Mills
Charles K. Mohler*

*J. B. Moos
Samuel W. Norton
R. F. Schuchardt
William M. Towne
Frederick E. Voegelin
Joseph L. White
Howard Woodhead
George A. Damon
(consulting member)*

Removal of Street Obstructions

Prior to January 19, 1911, the chairman of the Committee on Traffic and Transportation was Prof. L. C. Marshall of the University of Chicago.

The Committee on Traffic and Transportation, on June 30th, 1910, with the approval of the Directors, submitted to the Council Committee on the Building Department a proposed amendment to the Building Code, forbidding the use of streets for the storage of building material, except where it could be shown that no other method of caring for such material was possible or practicable. Such a provision, if adopted, would have compelled the contractor in each case to show cause why he should be permitted to occupy the street. It was not, however, included in the ordinance as passed.

The Committee also had correspondence with a number of building contractors relative to the possibility of storing building materials on the premises, instead of in the street. The erection of elevated sidewalks under which such materials might be delivered to the premises was suggested as a means toward this end.

The Humboldt Park Elevated Railway Extension Ordinance

The terms of the proposed Humboldt Park extension ordinance of the Oak Park Elevated Railway Company were discussed by the committee, and, with the approval of the Public Affairs Committee, a letter, drafted by the committee, disapproving the proposed extension was submitted on May 3rd, 1910, to the Local Transportation Committee of the City Council. The ordinance failed to pass.

The "Consolidated" Traction Ordinance

The committee investigated in detail the provisions of the so-called "Consolidated Traction" ordinance, insofar as it related to the operation and future physical development of the "Consolidated" lines. The rehabilitation of certain lines covered by that ordinance appeared to the committee to be unwise, on account of other existing parallel lines, which could be developed so as to care for all existing traffic. A letter was therefore sent to the Local Transportation Committee of the City Council recommending that the proposed ordinance be so amended as to exclude the rehabilitation of these lines. At the suggestion of that committee this matter was discussed with the Traction Valuation Commission at a hearing participated in by representatives from this Committee, the Chicago Railways Company, the bondholders of the Consolidated Traction Company and representatives from various wards affected by the proposed change. The Committee's recommendations were not adopted in the ordinance as passed, but the Committee was informed by Mr. Arnold, of the Valuation Commission, that they could be followed up after the passage of the ordinance, if it should seem wise to do so, and the Committee accordingly expects to pursue the matter further. The Committee is particularly indebted to Mr. C. K. Mohler for his work and report in connection with this subject.

The Regulation of Street Traffic

The Committee considered various questions relating to the regulation of street traffic, including traffic rules and their enforcement, the advisability of requiring teamsters' licenses, and the course to be followed in the opening of streets by public service corporations.

The following matters affecting transportation conditions in the city were also discussed: Removal of snow and refuse from the right-of-way of the surface lines, the bad condition of street pavements at intersections, the possibility of securing better passenger service between the various railway stations. The proposed widening of Twelfth street was considered at a joint meeting with the Committees on City Planning and on Housing Conditions, but no action was taken.

The chairman of the Committee is of the opinion that a large field for its activities lies in the questions raised by the Congestion Commission in New York City in its transit recommendations. The subway question also is one which may well occupy the activities of the committee. This question should be considered in its relation to the general scheme of transportation on surface and elevated lines.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON HARBORS, WHARVES AND WATERWAYS

George Packard, Chairman.

*Ayres Boal
Edwin J. Bowes, Jr.
Edward O. Brown
Buckingham Chandler
Morton S. Cressy
Herbert W. Duncanson
Jerome N. Frank
E. O. Greifenhagen
Frederick W. Hill
Albion W. Hobson
Duncan Keith
Edwin L. Lobdell*

*Ray G. MacDonald
John R. Montgomery
Irving Randall
Charles D. Richards
Clifford G. Roe
Angus R. Shannon
George Schobinger
George W. Springer
John H. Warder*

*Robert Isham Randolph,
Consulting Member.*

The meetings of the Committee on Harbors, Wharves and Waterways last year were mainly devoted to consideration of the status of the harbor problem in Chicago. A sub-committee attended the hearings on the application of the Chicago Canal and Dock Company for a government permit to construct docks at the mouth of the Chicago River, but no action in this matter was taken by the committee.

The Calumet Canal Project

The committee on May 9, 1910, met in joint session with the Committees on Water Supply, Drainage and Sewerage and on Public Health to consider the status of the proposed canal in the Calumet district to provide better drainage facilities for that district. As inability to secure the necessary permit from the Federal authorities to divert sufficient water from the lake to provide for the canal seemed to be the chief obstacle to this improvement, a formal communication was sent, in the name of the joint committee, to the President of the Sanitary District, offering their co-operation toward securing this permit.

Referendum on the Proposed Bridge Bond Issue

In March, 1911, a sub-committee met with a committee of the Association of Commerce in respect to the proposed bond issue for bridges to be voted on at the April election. As a result of this conference, a Club discussion on this question was held on March 31st, presided over by the chairman of the committee, at which Mr. Charles L. Dering, of the Association of Commerce; Mr. George C. Sikes, Mr. A. C. Sullivan, Mr. B. J. Mullaney and Ald. C. M. Foell spoke in favor of the bond issue. The discussion was reported quite fully in the press. The bond issue was approved by a large majority at the election.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON HOUSING CONDITIONS

James H. Tufts, Chairman.

*Thomas W. Allinson
Frederick R. Angell
Abraham Bowers
Francis E. Broomell
John D. Clancy
James L. Clark
Herbert W. Gates
Fred V. Hawley
James H. Henry
Herman V. von Holst
Elmer C. Jensen
Royal L. Melendy*

*Harry E. Mock
Charles C. Rich
Jeffrey R. Short
Irving Spencer
William R. Stirling
Willoughby G. Walling
Frank E. Wing
H. J. Winsten
Ernest Woltersdorf
Paul E. Zimmermann
Charles B. Ball,
Consulting Member.*

The Revision of the City Building Code

The Committee on Housing Conditions during a considerable part of the years 1909 and 1910 participated actively in the work of revising the Building Ordinance through suggestion and through conference with members of the Revision Commission, of whom three were also members of this committee. The committee also assisted in the arrangement of a general discussion on the subject before the Club, on February 12, 1910.

In December, 1910, the committee took up with the Chairman of the Council Committee on the Building Department certain proposed amendments to the Building Code—then pending before the Council—lowering the efficiency qualifications required of the staff of the Building Department. The committee was informed that the ordinance provisions on this subject could be only advisory,

since these standards would, in any case, be determined by the Civil Service Commission. The committee, therefore, decided not to oppose the proposed amendments.

The committee has considered the preparation and issue, for the use of householders and tenants, of a leaflet presenting in condensed form the more important provisions of the Building Ordinance and other information relating to housing conditions. The committee hopes to prepare such a leaflet and secure its publication.

Proposed City and State Housing Commissions

In December, 1910, after the passage of the Building Ordinance, conferences were held with several aldermen interested in the subject, at which the committee discussed the desirability of securing from the City Council the appointment of a commission to investigate housing conditions in this city. It was believed that such a commission might bring together the results of investigations already made in such a way as to focus public sentiment on possible improvements in the planning of houses. An important topic in such a program would be the feasibility of adopting a zone system for different types of building which would make possible better standards as regards light, ventilation and general housing conditions in the outlying districts of the city. It was the sense of the conference, however, that it would be unwise to attempt to secure the appointment of such a commission prior to the spring election, and further consideration of the matter was therefore postponed.

The committee, in February, 1911, arranged a conference at which Judge Girtan presented for discussion his bill then pending before the Legislature, providing for a commission to investigate housing conditions throughout the state, and to report a bill for the next Legislature. (Note 1.)

Participation in Plans for the Child Welfare Exhibit

At present the committee is co-operating, by way of consultation, with the Housing Sub-Committee of the Committee on Homes, of the Child Welfare Exhibit, the chairman of the City Club Committee being also chairman of this housing sub-committee. It is believed that this Exhibit, to be held from May 11 to May 25, will provide an excellent opportunity for bringing certain facts concerning Chicago housing conditions to the attention of the public.

Members of the committee have been familiarizing themselves increasingly with various aspects of the very complex problem of housing, and will be able to co-operate more intelligently, as occasion offers, in efforts to improve conditions. An instance of such co-operation has been the participation by the committee in two conferences with committees of the Association of Commerce, which are considering questions of improved housing.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON STREETS, ALLEYS AND BRIDGES

Charles H. Schweppe, Chairman.

*Frederick W. Bleike
Frank J. Gardner
Henry K. Gilbert
Samuel S. Greeley
Henry K. Holsman
Charles W. Lamborn
Stephen T. Mather*

*Charles V. McErlean
N. E. Murray
John J. O'Connor
Thornton M. Pratt
Jacob H. Prost
Lyman O. Stanton*

Flushing Machines in the Loop District

The Committee on Streets, Alleys and Bridges, in June, 1910, brought about negotiations which resulted in the loan of two flushing machines owned by the

(Note 1: This bill was introduced in the Senate, but was not passed.)

city to the Citizens' Street Cleaning Bureau for a test of their use. These machines were used for a period of about five months in 1910, and have again been borrowed for use this spring. (Note 2.)

Removal of Street Sweepings

The committee, in April and May, 1910, considered at length the ordinance provisions requiring the street railway companies to undertake the hauling of street sweepings, and had a number of conferences and considerable correspondence with city officials, members of the Board of Supervising Engineers and representatives of the traction companies relative to putting those provisions into effect. An agreement between the city and the street car companies was finally reached under which, in March, 1911, the traction companies began the operation of six new cars for the transportation of street sweepings.

New Street Numbering System

The proposed extension of the new numbering system to the downtown district was discussed at several meetings of the committee, and on April 29, 1910, a report favorable thereto was received from a sub-committee. The committee, however, took no part in the public discussion of this question. Later the City Council, by ordinance, provided for this extension, to take effect on April 1st, 1911.

Some interesting and, it is believed, valuable information on the comparative costs of cleaning different kinds of street paving in Chicago, was compiled by a sub-committee of this committee, and is preserved in the files of the committee.

Street Names

It is believed that, among other things, valuable work can be accomplished by the committee in promoting cleaner streets, and also, perhaps, in co-operation with the Association of Commerce, in securing a more scientific and convenient system of street names. A representative of the committee was present at two meetings of the Sub-Committee on Street Nomenclature, of the Streets Committee of the Association of Commerce and has given that body the benefit of work which the committee had previously done along this line. (Note 3.)

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC PARKS, PLAYGROUNDS AND BATHS

Frank I. Moulton, Chairman.

*John Algots
A. Eugene Bartlett
Stanley W. Blum
Robert C. Brinkley, Jr.
V. Kenneth Brown
William H. Bush
J. S. Clark
C. J. Cobb
Josiah Cratty
J. W. F. Davies
R. J. Haight
Edward J. Holden
Anthony Hunt
Walter C. Larned*

*William M. Lawton
John E. MacLeish
Charles A. Marsh
George A. Moore
James Roy Ozanne
W. F. Rochelcau
Willis N. Rudd
O. C. Simonds
Clayton F. Summy
Graham R. Taylor
J. C. Vaughan
Luke I. Wilson
A. Phelps Wyman*

(Note 2: The Bureau, in May, purchased two new "uniform pressure" machines of an improved type and is operating them on the downtown streets. The old machines have been returned to the City.)

(Note 3: On April 20, 1911, Mr. Schweppe resigned and was succeeded by Mr. Thornton M. Pratt.)

Recreation Center Sites on the West Side

Of the various subjects considered by the Committee on Public Parks, Playgrounds and Baths during the year ending March 31, 1911, the most important dealt with the selection of sites for additional small park-playgrounds on the West Side. At the election of November, 1910, the West Chicago Park Commissioners were authorized to issue bonds to the extent of \$1,000,000 for the establishment of such park and playground facilities. Prior to that election, the president and secretary of the park board appeared before this committee and explained the reasons in favor of certain sites which had already been tentatively determined upon. Later, following the election, and pursuant to a recommendation of this committee, a public hearing was held by the West Chicago Park Commissioners to receive suggestions as to appropriate sites. At this meeting the chairman of this committee suggested that the Special Park Commission, or some similar body, should be asked to make a survey and report as to the most desirable locations for these proposed recreation centers. The suggestion was approved, and subsequently the Special Park Commission undertook this task. On February 7, 1911, it submitted its recommendations in writing to the West Park Board. At a discussion held at the City Club on March 11, 1911, the president of that board announced that the commissioners were heartily in favor of the sites thus recommended. Final action, however, has not yet been taken by the board.

"Parkways" and "Boulevards"

As stated in the last annual report of the committee, the desirability of changing the names of certain south side boulevards to "drives," "roads" or "parkways," in accordance with the plan adopted by the Lincoln Park Board, was discussed by the committee, and on March 28, 1910, was taken up with the South Park Commissioners. In April, 1910, the committee was advised by the South Park Commission that the matter would be taken under consideration, but the proposed amendment has not been made.

Pending Park Legislation

The committee in March, 1911, considered two bills, relating to parks, then pending before the Legislature, one—Senate Bill No. 315—providing for the creation of a state park reservation at Starved Rock; the other—Senate Bill No. 185—permitting city councils to open streets through parks. (Note 4.)

Park Consolidation

The committee's sub-committee on Parks has been asked to consider the question of park consolidation in Chicago. It is hoped that this committee will find it possible to give the question thorough and exhaustive consideration and submit recommendations before the next session of the State Legislature convenes.

The committee has also considered the desirability of the establishment of playgrounds in some of the more congested districts on the south side of the city, the creation of a small park or playground at Eighteenth and Dearborn streets, tree planting and the establishment of a tree nursery at Gage Farm, and the possibility of securing public comfort stations for Chicago.

(Note 4: In April last the committee adopted and transmitted to the chairman of the appropriate House and Senate committees recommendations favoring the former of these bills and opposing the latter. Both bills, however, were passed. The chairman of the committee, in common with other individuals and organizations, following the passage of Senate Bill 185, addressed a letter to the Governor urging the veto of that bill. The bill was vetoed.)

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC EDUCATION

George H. Mead, Chairman.

*Samuel B. Allison
Charles S. Bacon
David Blaustein
William J. Bogan
Edward L. Burchard
Avery Coonley
Ozora S. Davis
Warren C. Gorrell
John C. Harding
A. G. S. Josephson
William E. Lewis
Edgar D. Martin*

*William B. Owen
Joseph E. Raycroft
Emil W. Ritter
W. P. Sidley
John J. Sonstebj
John W. Stockwell
Daniel A. Tear
Horace K. Tenney
Henry W. Thurston
Edward D. Tweccell
Eugene Van Cleef
Theodore B. Wagner*

Industrial Education

The City Club Committee on Public Education for over a year and a half have been investigating the subject of industrial education, including the demands and opportunities for industrial training in Chicago and throughout the country. The report of the committee is expected to be completed within a short time, and the committee trusts that the information gathered and the recommendations made may be of sufficient importance to warrant the time and effort expended in the endeavor to make the report as thorough and full as possible.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC HEALTH

Sidney Kuh, Chairman.

*Isaac A. Abt
Edward S. Ames
Oscar W. Brecher
James A. Britton
Anton J. Carlson
John M. Clapp
Charles B. Elder
Robert T. Gillmore
Ethan A. Gray
Albert B. Hunt
Edwin O. Jordan
Ernest Lackner*

*B. M. Linnell
M. B. Parker
William A. Quinn
Thomas E. Rooney
Theodore B. Sachs
George H. Simmons
Edwin B. Tutcur
John Francis Urie
Clarence L. Wheaton
Gottfried Kochler,
Consulting Member.*

The Chicago Health League

During a large portion of the year just ended the principal activities of the Committee on Public Health were directed toward bringing about co-operation between the various organizations in this city interested in the improvement of public health. These efforts resulted in the formation of the Chicago Health League, which at present has a membership of about forty delegates from such organizations.

Investigation of alleged injurious qualities in artificial sweet cider was made by the committee, and reports on that subject were received.

A National Department of Health

U. S. Senate Bill No. 6049 relating to the establishment of a National Department of Public Health was examined and discussed, and a letter was sent to the chairman of the Senate Committee at Washington urging its passage.

The resignation of Dr. Podstata, as superintendent of the Insane Hospital

at Elgin, was considered both by this committee alone and jointly with representatives of the Public Affairs Committee. Owing to later developments in the case, however, it was considered inexpedient to take action.

Conditions at the County Hospital

Attempts were made to arrange a meeting with Mr. Peter Barten, president of the Board of Cook County Commissioners, to discuss matters affecting the local charitable institutions, but such a meeting could not be arranged. However, a conference was had with Mr. John P. McGoorty, then chairman of the Cook County Civil Service Commission, who invited this committee to have a representative appear before the commission. This invitation was accepted, and a number of recommendations for the improvement of the service at the Cook County Hospital were made, namely:

1. That the number of internes employed at the County Hospital be increased by 10 or 12.
2. That better housing be provided for the internes, each one of them to be given his own room.
3. That better food be provided for the internes.
4. That some other method of disciplining internes be devised than suspension.
5. That no patient be admitted to the hospital excepting upon the order either of the attending physician or of the internes in the examining room.
6. That no patient be dismissed excepting upon the written order of the attending physician, or—in his absence—by the assistant warden.
7. That there be an adequate staff of properly remunerated experienced resident physicians appointed under the civil service law in addition to the regular attending staff, the former to care for emergency cases.
8. That some provision be made for the assaying of the drugs used at the hospital, this assay not to be made by the purchasing agent.
9. That the character of the food supplied to the patients be investigated by competent experts in dietetics.
10. That a psychopathic ward be established at the County Hospital, so as to provide not only for better care of mental cases, but also as a matter of protection for those who are physically ill.

Some of these suggestions were embodied in the reports of Mr. McGoorty to the County Commissioners.

The Public Health Committee conferred at various times with the Committees on Water Supply, Drainage and Sewerage, and on Harbors, Wharves and Waterways, on the question of the Calumet Channel; with the Bureau of Public Efficiency on matters relating to the Cook County Hospital; and with the Civil Service Reform League on matters concerning the administration of the County civil service law.

Household Pests

A sub-committee, appointed to investigate the subject of household pests, still has that subject under consideration. (Note 5.) Following its report, a joint conference on the subject was held by the Committees on Housing Conditions, and on Streets, Alleys and Bridges. At that conference a joint sub-committee was appointed to make further investigation and to report definite recommendations at a later meeting of the committees. The work of that sub-committee is still pending.

(Note 5: This sub-committee reported on April 5, 1911. On April 21, under its auspices, a public discussion on the subject of Household Pests and Their Relation to Public Health was held at the City Club. That discussion is published in full in the City Club Bulletin, Vol. IV., No. 8.)

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC ORDER AND POLICING

Harold L. Ickes, Chairman.

*Wm. Lester Bodine
Charles J. Eastman
Thomas Evans
J. Allen Haines
James P. Harrold*

*Joseph L. Moss
Walter S. Rogers
Shelby M. Singleton
Graham Taylor*

Use of Weapons by the Police

Probably the most important subject which received the attention of the City Club Committee on Public Order and Policing during the past year was the alleged tendency of some members of the police force to use their revolvers unnecessarily. A number of cases of apparently unjustified shooting of citizens by police officers were investigated, and the best means of curbing this tendency was discussed. This subject is still under consideration.

Protection of Children at Night

Recognizing the serious results of allowing children, unaccompanied by adults, to frequent the streets at night, the committee, in co-operation with representatives of other organizations, made inquiries concerning existing conditions in this line and possible remedies, and the matter was also discussed with the Chief of police.

Other questions which received attention from the committee were the location of saloons in relation to schools, churches, settlements and playgrounds; alleged brutality of the police during the garment workers' strike, and the system of judging the relative merits of police officers upon the basis of the number of arrests made by each.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON WATER SUPPLY, DRAINAGE AND SEWERAGE

Albert G. Miller, Chairman.

*Henry J. Aaron
Edward H. Duff
William B. Ewing
James S. Handy
C. D. Hill
George Harvey Jones*

*Robert R. McCormick
Langdon Pearce
A. D. Sanders, Jr.
W. A. Shaw
James M. Sheldon
La Verne W. Spring*

Calumet Drainage Problem

The Committee on Water Supply, Drainage and Sewerage last year considered the project for a canal in the Calumet region to permit the flow of the Calumet River to be reversed, thereby providing improved drainage facilities for that territory. Jointly with the Committees on Public Health and on Harbors, Wharves and Waterways, this committee formally offered its co-operation to the Sanitary District in aid of its efforts to secure the necessary permit from the Federal authorities.

Pending Investigations

The committee is at present engaged in two important lines of investigation, one relating to universal metering of the city water supply and the other to the establishment of a high-pressure water system. The committee has gathered a considerable amount of data from other cities in regard to these two matters and is now having this material digested for convenient presentation and study. It is hoped that definite recommendations will be the outcome of these investigations.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON FIRE PROTECTION AND BUILDING REGULATIONS

George H. Holt, Chairman.

*A. F. Allen
Frank D. Chase
Arthur S. Coffin
Henry E. Cordell
Arthur B. Hall*

*S. G. Hobert
Orson W. Ray
W. R. Ruegnitz
Daniel P. Trude
M. B. Wellington*

For the sake of efficiency in conducting the work of the Committee on Fire Protection and Building Regulations, sub-committees were appointed on the following subjects: High-Pressure Water System, Building Ordinances, State Supervision of Fire Insurance, Premium Rates and Fire Losses, and Legislation and Administration. The committee met from time to time during the year, the various sub-committees reporting progress.

The New Building Ordinance

The new Building Ordinance was given special consideration, the effort of the committee being to secure its passage in the Council in the form reported out by the Council Committee on the Building Department.

High Pressure Water System

The matter of a high-pressure water supply system was also considered, particularly in connection with the serious fire of the L. Fish Furniture Company, and the Stockyards fire in which Chief Horan and a number of firemen were killed.

Near the close of the year, resolutions were adopted expressing the opinion of the committee on the question of high-pressure systems, and on various matters relating to fire insurance rates.

A number of sub-committee reports have also been submitted to the chairman, but have not been formally approved in meeting. They embody, however, the ideas of the committee as developed in discussion, and will doubtless be accepted.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LIGHTING AND TELEPHONE SERVICE

Joseph Cummins, Chairman.

*William R. Angell
Henry W. Austin
Charles F. Dieter
Robert Lee Hale
Bernard Hoffmann
Carl S. Miner*

*Willard Moffett
Ernest E. Quantrell
Winfield S. Smyth, Jr.
Lewis A. Stebbins
Robert R. McCormick,
Consulting Member.*

At the beginning of the service of the present committee there were pending before the City Council Committee on Gas, Oil and Electric Light two ordinances granting franchises for furnishing electric light and power, one to the Inter Ocean Newspaper Company, the other to the Madison Light Company.

The Inter Ocean Newspaper Company had obtained an ordinance on March 13, 1905, which was amended October 5, 1908, granting it permission to do a light, heat and power business in a portion of the block in which its building is located on Monroe Street, between Dearborn and Clark. The ordinance pending in the spring of 1910 enlarged its territory so as to permit it to construct conduits under and along Monroe Street, between State and Clark Streets, and under and along Dearborn Street, between Monroe Street and the east and west alley south of Monroe, and under and along this alley in the block bounded by Dear-

born, Clark, Monroe and Adams Streets, and under the sidewalk space on the east side of Clark Street, between Monroe Street and the first alley south of Monroe Street.

The Proposed Madison Light Company Ordinance

The Madison Light Company ordinance proposed a broad grant to construct and operate wires, pipes, conduits and other conductors for the transmission and distribution of electricity in the territory bounded by Dearborn Street on the east, Clinton Street on the west, Randolph Street on the north and Madison Street on the south.

The ordinances were considered at several meetings of the committee. Representatives of the Commonwealth Edison Company were present at one of the meetings by invitation and discussed the general situation at length. It was not disclosed who constituted the Madison Light Company, but the sponsor for that ordinance before the Council Committee was Mr. Roy D. Keehn, an attorney, who represents professionally the Chicago American and the Chicago Examiner. Mr. Keehn was invited to meet with the committee and made several engagements with the chairman, which Mr. Keehn found himself unable to keep.

As to the general principle involved, the committee were of the opinion that, under the powers of regulation both of service and rates now existing by law and also provided for by the ordinances of the Commonwealth Edison Company, the correct policy with reference to these public utilities is that of regulated monopoly, and that no public interest would be served by granting such a franchise. Certain other specific objections to the Madison Light Ordinance were also pointed out. The chairman was directed to appear before the Council Committee on Gas, Oil and Electric Light to present the views of your committee, which he did.

The Inter Ocean Ordinance was recommended favorably and was passed by the City Council on July 18, 1910. The Madison Light Ordinance was placed on file.

Though the past year has been a most interesting period with respect to both telephone and lighting service as affecting the whole city, no other situations have arisen with respect thereto that have called for activity on the part of this committee.

Telephone Rate Revision

The date fixed by the present ordinance of the Chicago Telephone Company for the revision of telephone rates was reached early in 1910. The subject has for the past year received continuous consideration at the hands of the Committee of the City Council on Gas, Oil and Electric Light. The Company's ordinance provides that the City Comptroller shall prescribe a system of accounting calculated to provide data from which fair and equitable rates for service may be derived. In the summer of 1910, D. C. and W. B. Jackson, engineers, and the firm of Arthur Young & Company, public accountants, employed by the City Comptroller, presented an extended report upon the property, receipts and disbursements of the Telephone Company, from which it appeared that, after making proper allowances for depreciation, the company was earning only 3.83 per cent on the value of its property employed in rendering service in the City of Chicago, and ought therefore to be permitted to increase its rates. The Council Committee was not prepared to accept the conclusions of this report, nor to rest satisfied with the report itself as an examination and presentation of the facts involved. The committee accordingly employed Mr. W. J. Hagenah, expert of the Wisconsin State Railroad and Public Utilities Commission, to investigate the whole subject and report facts and conclusions to the committee. This report was recently submitted, and therein the conclusion was reached that the company could pay its present rate of 8 per cent dividends upon the value of the property actually employed, after making adequate provisions for depreciation, and have a small surplus which might properly be applied to the

reduction of rates. Mr. Hagenah did not in that report undertake to state to what particular rates or classes of rates such reductions should equitably be applied. He was then requested by the Council Committee to examine the classes of service, the value of property employed in each and the cost of operation, and report, recommending where changes and adjustments should be made. This second report has not yet been received.

The Revision of Gas Rates

Under existing agreements with the Peoples Gas, Light and Coke Company, the rates to be charged the public for gas are now subject to revision, and this question also is under the jurisdiction of the Council Committee on Gas, Oil and Electric Light. The committee employed Mr. Hagenah to examine and report upon this matter also, and it is understood that his report will be received by the Council Committee shortly.

Although these questions of vital importance in the conduct of these public utilities have been under examination and consideration for the entire year, their consideration has been carried on by the regularly constituted representatives of the City in such a manner that there has seemed to be no occasion or necessity for participation by representatives of civic organizations.

Placing the Gas Inspector Under Civil Service

In March of this year the Council Committee on Gas, Oil and Electric Light favorably reported to the City Council an ordinance for placing the office of Chief Gas Inspector under Civil Service rules, and this committee, with the approval of the Directors, sent to the Mayor and City Council a letter quoting the favorable report of the Chicago Commission on City Expenditures upon this question and urging the adoption of the ordinance. (Note 6.)

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CIVIL SERVICE

Harry L. Bird, Chairman.

*James M. Barnes
Francis X. Busch
Joseph W. Errant
Bernard Goldsmith
W. C. Graves
James S. Handy
John A. Jameson*

*William E. Rafferty
Julius Stern
Lloyd C. Whitman
Charles M. Williams

Henry E. Legler
Consulting Member.*

Examinations in the Efficiency Division

Last November, steps were taken by the Civil Service Commission of the City toward the holding of an examination for Examiners of Efficiency in the new Efficiency Division of that Commission. It was brought to the attention of the City Club Committee on Civil Service that the call issued for this examination was so indefinite and confusing as to amount of salaries to be paid and the number of positions to be filled that it was doubtful if competent men would be attracted.

The committee, after due consideration, addressed a letter to the Civil Service Commission stating these facts and suggesting that if it was impossible, in advance of the passage of the annual appropriation bill, to give more definite information as to salaries and number of positions to be filled, the examination should be postponed until that information should be available. The committee

(Note 6: During the reorganization of the City Council in April, this ordinance, under general resolution affecting all unfinished business, was referred back to the committee, where it is still pending.)

also indicated its belief that the salaries should be adequate to attract a high class of candidates for these positions.

In reply to this letter, President Lower of the Commission stated that the Commission had already been criticized for delay in the examination; that the examinations were for the less important positions only, and that the Commission expected to recommend adequate salaries to be provided in the next appropriation bill for the more important positions yet to be filled.

Business Manager of the School Board

President Urien of the Board of Education, in his annual report for the year ending June 30, 1910, recommended the appointment of a "business manager," a new officer who should have general supervision of all the business departments of the Board. The question was raised in the committee as to whether, if this position were created, it would be filled by civil service examination or by direct appointment. The committee was advised that any appointment to such a position from outside the present service must be made under civil service, but that, if an appointee were selected from among the present employees, the position could be filled without examination. The appointment of the secretary of the Board to the position of business manager on December 9, 1910, eliminated further consideration of the subject.

Civil Service in the Parks

The proposed extension of civil service to the South Park employes was discussed and the Civic Secretary was requested, on January 20, 1911, to consult with the President of the South Park Commission as to why the proposed ordinance was being held up. Later changes in the personnel of the Commission, however, made it advisable to forego further action by the committee for the present.

Pending Civil Service Legislation

Through the Civil Service Committee a public meeting of the Club, which was participated in by two down-state members of the Legislature and others, was held on March 27, 1911, for the discussion of the civil service bills pending before the Legislature. The object of this meeting was to secure greater publicity as to the civil service situation at Springfield and as to methods employed to block the proposed legislation. (Note 7.)

The committee has also considered the questions of temporary appointments in the city service, the merit system in the consular service, the continued delay in the appointment of a Superintendent of Streets and the general question of publicity of civil service examinations.

(Note 7: As the result of a vigorous campaign by the Illinois and Chicago Civil Service Reform Associations and the Committee of Seven—appointed by the "Peoria Conference" of June 27 and 28, 1910, to work for a constitutional amendment providing for the initiative and referendum, for a corrupt practices act and for comprehensive state civil service legislation—four new civil service bills, relating, respectively, to state, county, park and municipal court employes, were enacted into law at the last session of the Legislature. A bill covering Sanitary District employes failed of passage.

The result of this new legislation will be to extend very greatly the operation of the merit system in Illinois. The law respecting state employes will add to the 3,200 employes in the state charitable institutions now under the merit system from 1,400 to 1,600 others in various departments; the law respecting the county service will add about 2,110 to the 1,032 county employes already under that system; the law respecting the parks—which have heretofore had no civil service law—will place about 1,500 employes in winter and over 4,000 in summer under that system; the law respecting the employes of the Municipal Court—which has never been under civil service regulations—will place 253 positions in that court under such regulations. Thus a total of from 5,600 to 8,000 positions will be brought under the civil service legislation secured at the recent session of the General Assembly.

The various bills also contained some important innovations in such matters of civil service procedure as the making of rules, the classification and grading of the service, methods of promotion, standardization of employment and pay, the keeping of efficiency records, etc.)

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON MUNICIPAL ART

Lorado Taft, Chairman.

Richard L. Crampton
Charles Norman Fay
William B. Jackson
Arthur B. Jones
James H. Kehler
M. R. Kultchar
Eames MacVeagh

Everett L. Millard
Henry C. Morris
William V. O'Brien
James F. Porter
N. D. Thompson, Jr.
Percival H. Truman
Frederick T. West

The efforts of the Committee on Municipal Art last year were chiefly directed to the preparation of two bills now pending before the Legislature, namely:

Municipal Art Commission Bill

Senate Bill 127, amending the act relating to Municipal Art Commissions, modifying the personnel of such commissions and materially increasing their powers. This bill, in slightly different form, was passed by the Legislature two years ago, but was vetoed by the Governor as unconstitutional. The bill has been modified to meet these objections, and the committee trusts that it may not now be open to attack. (Note 8.)

State Art Commission Bill

Senate Bill 295, amending the act creating a State Art Commission and defining its powers and duties. The original act was passed two years ago, having been prepared by this committee. The proposed amendments are intended to make the findings of the Commission mandatory and to provide for the expenses of the members. (Note 9.)

Free Days at the Art Institute

The committee last year recommended to the authorities of the Art Institute an increase in the number of free days per week. This recommendation has not been adopted.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON SMOKE ABATEMENT

Spencer L. Adams, Chairman.

Francis X. Busch
Charles C. Curtiss
Robert L. Gifford

F. H. Kilbourn
Donald B. McLaury
Victor S. Yarros

The work of the Committee on Smoke Abatement for the year 1910-11 was confined to an investigation of certain phases of the smoke nuisance in Chicago. Inquiries were sent to all persons or corporations who had been prosecuted during a year's time for violating the smoke ordinance. These inquiries dealt with the causes to which violations were attributed, with the dealers from whom coal was purchased at the time of violation, and with criticisms or suggestions which the offenders had to offer upon the subject of prosecutions. Assurances were given that the answers would be treated anonymously. From the persons or firms thus interrogated 165 answers were received, representing nearly one-half of the total number addressed. The statistics obtained from the compilation of the answers to these inquiries were used as the basis for a report to the Board of Directors on December 24, 1910, embodying the findings of the committee. The Directors, however, have not made this report public.

(Note 8: This bill was passed by the House—as House Bill 97—on May 12, 1911, but was tabled in the Senate.)

(Note 9: The bill, modified to provide that the Commission should act only when so requested by the Governor, was passed by the Senate, but failed of passage in the House.)

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON REVENUES, EXPENDITURES AND ACCOUNTING

William B. Hale, Chairman.

W. H. L. Bell

Robert Catherwood

Frederick H. DeKnatch

Wm. Marshall Ellis

Richard T. Fox

Colin C. H. Fyffe

George S. Jackson

Maurice S. Kuhns

George C. Longman

Horace Manning

William D. McKenzie

I. Newton Perry, Jr.

Allen B. Pond

Conrad H. Poppenhuisen

Paul Steinbrecher

Russell Tyson

David V. Webster

Herbert C. Whitehead

Paul E. Wilson

The Committee on Revenues, Expenditures and Accounting last year considered the following matters:

Saloon Licenses in Chicago

1. The rising value of saloon licenses in Chicago as a result of the limitations on number imposed by city ordinance. No decision as to the best method of handling this question was reached.

Methods of Real Estate Tax Valuations

2. The relative merits of the present system of real estate tax valuation in the business district as compared with the so-called Somers system, and possible improvements in the methods of such valuations. This matter is still under consideration.

Investigation of State Expenditures

In May, 1909, the committee took up an investigation of methods of expending state funds. Preliminary inquiries developed the fact that, although the state budget seemed, for the most part, to be sufficiently detailed, the propriety of some of the expenditures therein provided for was open to question. A further investigation was therefore decided upon.

With the approval of the Directors, the committee raised funds privately, and in October, 1909, sent two accountants from the firm of Arthur Young & Company to Springfield to investigate certain state expenditures, particularly the legislative payroll, including the salaries and expenses of members of the General Assembly and the payroll of employes at the state capitol. These accountants were furnished with letters of introduction to the Secretary of State, the Auditor of Public Accounts and the State Treasurer. From time to time they submitted reports, which, with other information bearing upon the subject, were discussed by the committee. Reports on certain problems of law connected with the investigation were received from Mr. Robert Catherwood and Mr. Colin C. H. Fyffe.

No report on this subject was made by the committee for the fiscal year ending March 31, 1910, but through its State Expenditures Division, created February 3, 1910, for the purpose, the committee continued its work very actively during the early part of the year ending March 31, 1911. Some of the information secured by the Division was made public in a speech by the Chairman of the committee at the Peoria Conference, June 27 and 28, 1910. This speech, which embodied the conclusions of the committee, showed a condition of great laxity and disregard of the laws, both as to the emolument of members of the General Assembly and as to the legislative payroll and the operating expenses of the capitol. Further details of the investigation were given in a report by the

committee to the Directors of the Club on September 12, 1910, and were published in the newspapers immediately afterward.

The Budget Division of the committee was formed on February 3, 1910, to consider various matters relating to city expenditures, particularly the city budget. The work of the Division prior to March 31, 1910, is described in the annual report of the committee for the year ending on that date.

Budget of the City Health Department

Upon the publication last January of the City Comptroller's estimates for the 1911 budget, the Budget Division took under consideration the proposed appropriation for the Health Department. Representatives of the Department informed the Division that, although the appropriation for the Department for 1907 was \$849,000, for 1910 it was only \$545,000. They stated their belief that, owing to better methods, as much work was now being accomplished as had formerly been accomplished with the larger amount, but that, nevertheless, the death rate had increased from 1.4 per cent in 1908 to 1.52 per cent in 1910. The Division was assured that, to reverse this situation, to do more thoroughly the work the Department had undertaken, to properly enforce certain provisions of the new building laws, and to widen the scope of the Department in other ways, such as by the extension of the work of the visiting and school nurses, the proper development of child hygiene work, the adequate inspection of street cars and the improvement of food inspection, the Department would need over \$900,000. The most necessary work, however, might be done for \$800,000.

The Budget Division presented a report to the Directors on this subject, with resolutions, adopted by the Division, opposing any reduction from the original estimates, which would materially impair the efficiency of the Department. These resolutions were approved by the Directors and were made public at a Club discussion held on January 14, 1911, at which Health Commissioner Evans outlined the needs of his Department. The resolutions, together with Dr. Evans' address, were published in the City Club Bulletin of January 18, 1911. The appropriation for the Health Department for 1911 was finally fixed at \$646,095.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON POLITICAL NOMINATIONS AND ELECTIONS

Earl C. Hales, Chairman.

*Henry M. Bacon
Bruce Barton
Horace L. Brand
A. O. Coddington
C. D. Dallas
George E. Dawson
Charles W. Espey
Martin H. Foss
William Hard
Walter D. Herrick
Leo W. Hoffman
John F. Holland
Jenkin Lloyd Jones*

*Preston Kumler
Hubert E. Page
Philip S. Post, Jr.
A. A. Rolf
John Siman
Shelby M. Singleton
Francis W. Taylor
A. C. Terry
Arnold W. Totman
Victor J. West*

*Lewis Rinaker,
Consulting Member.*

During the year just ended, the following subjects have been discussed by the Committee on Political Nominations and Elections: The commission form of city government, the amendment or repeal of the Public Policy Law, the petitions for the submission of public policy questions, judicial nominations and elections, the removal of Election Commissioners, and the general amendment of the primary and election laws.

Conference on Election and Primary Laws

House Bill No. 327, proposing some amendments to the City Election Laws, which were approved by your committee during the previous session of the General Assembly, and House Bill No. 396, proposing several amendments to the Primary Election Law, were considered at a meeting of the committee at which were present, by invitation, Mr. Homer E. Tinsman, of the Hamilton Club; Mr. Arthur B. Farwell, President of the Chicago Law and Order League; Mr. Anthony Czarnecki, representing County Judge John E. Owens and the Election Commissioners, and Mr. Lewis Rinaker, former County Judge. Those present at the meeting unanimously approved the pending bills, with a slight modification, and passed a resolution recommending their passage by the General Assembly. Judge Rinaker was given a report of the proceedings of the meeting, with authority to use the same before the members of the General Assembly in an effort to secure the passage of the bills. (Note 10.)

Abuse of the Franking Privilege

The committee also held two joint meetings with the Committee on Postal Service at which the use and abuse of the postal franking privilege by members of Congress were considered. The existence of very pronounced abuses was admitted, but the committee was advised that the difficulties incident to the enforcement of the law on this subject, owing to certain defects in that law, were such that little could be accomplished in this direction. The committee therefore decided to take no action.

The Chairman has hoped that the committee could make a thorough study of all the election laws and machinery, with a view to drafting a bill giving to Chicago an ideal system of conducting nominations and elections. He believes this to be an important piece of work and recommends that the committee in the future undertake the task.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LABOR CONDITIONS

Harry F. Ward, Chairman.

*Victor von Borosini
Abraham Bowers
John Dorr Bradley
Ivan M. Bregowsky
Lester L. Falk
Luke Grant
Robert E. Graves
Francis Hackett
Charles T. Hallinan
John C. Harding
Robert F. Hoxie*

*Karl D. King
Clarence C. Marder
George H. Miller
Charles M. Modershell
Edward J. Padden
Frederick W. Pringle
Raymond Robins
George B. Safford
Charles P. Schwartz
Leonard B. Zeisler*

The Committee on Labor Conditions has devoted most of its time during the year now ending to an investigation of employment agencies in the City of Chicago. In March, 1910, sub-committees were appointed on the following:

1. State Free Employment Agencies.
2. Private Employment Agencies.
3. Employment Agencies of Employers' Association.
4. Employment Agencies of Trade Unions.

Private Employment Agencies

The sub-committee on Private Employment Agencies in November, 1910, recommended certain changes in the law governing such agencies, and a bill en-

(Note 10: These bills were passed by the Senate, but were not concurred in by the House.)

bodying these proposed changes was drawn for presentation to the Legislature. This bill provided for publicity of the fees charged by private employment agencies and for greater protection against fraud of persons seeking employment. It also extended the provisions of the present law so as to cover certain saloons in Chicago which have made a practice of furnishing employment to waiters. (Note 18.)

Co-operation of State Free Employment Agencies

The sub-committee on State Free Employment Agencies, on January 17, 1911, made certain recommendations to the committee concerning the possible unification of the three State Free Employment Offices in Chicago and the need of more intercommunication between them and of a better system of registration. Several letters on the subject to the Governor resulted in a conference between the committee and the State Commissioners of Labor, at the conclusion of which the Commissioners promised to secure a greater degree of co-operation between the heads of these three offices, in accordance with the detailed suggestions of our committee.

Consolidation of State Labor Bureaus

The committee has also considered at some length the workings of the various labor bureaus of the state, namely, the State Board of Arbitration, the Bureau of Labor Statistics and the Department of Factory Inspection, especially with a view to the possibility of securing the consolidation of these bureaus, or at least closer co-operation between them. Considerable correspondence on this subject with the labor officials of other states was conducted. (Note 19.)

Poisonous Phosphorous in the Match Industry

The committee, on January 7, 1911, addressed a letter to Congressman Boutell in support of the Esch bill for the prohibition of the use of poisonous phosphorus in the manufacture of matches. (Note 20.)

The Garment Workers' Strike

At the time of the Garment Workers' strike in this city, which began in September, 1910, the committee prepared a statement containing the terms of settlement of the two similar strikes in New York and Philadelphia, which had occurred earlier in the year. It was hoped that this statement might furnish a basis for a settlement here. It was published as a Club Bulletin for November 26, 1910.

State Department of Factory Inspection

On February 25, 1911, the committee was represented in a joint conference on factory inspection called by the Industrial Committee of the Illinois Federation of Women's Clubs and the Chicago Branch of the American Association for Labor Legislation. This conference sent to Springfield recommendations

(Note 18: This bill was introduced in the House April 6, 1911, but was tabled in the closing days of the session.)

(Note 19: On April 13, 1911, a letter to the Governor was drafted, suggesting the appointment of a commission to amend, revise and codify the labor laws of the state and to consider the desirability of consolidating the separate boards into a separate department. It also recommended the joint publication by the various state labor bureaus of a quarterly bulletin containing their respective reports. Certain modifications have been suggested by the Directors of the Club, and the matter is, therefore, still in the hands of the committee.)

(Note 20: This bill was not passed by the last Congress, but in the present special session a new bill has been introduced and is still pending.)

for placing the Department under civil service and affording it an increased appropriation to secure more expert inspectors. (Note 21.)

Child Labor Law and Workmen's Compensation

The committee, through its Chairman, at a legislative hearing on the so-called "Child Actor Bill," expressed its opposition to any lowering of the requirements of the present Child Labor Law. It also recommended the adoption of a system of workmen's compensation in the best possible form that it could be secured at this session. (Note 22.)

As matters of future action there remain:

1. The necessity of watching the conduct of the Illinois Free Employment Agencies in Chicago to see if the promises made the committee regarding the development of a co-operative policy are carried out.

2. The continued urging of the desirability of a commission on labor legislation and its enforcement. In the event of the appointment of such a commission, the proposals of the committee, as outlined above, regarding the state supervision of private employment agencies, the better coordination of the State Free Employment Agencies and the consolidation of the three state labor bureaus into a single department should be brought to its attention in detail.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CHARITABLE, REFORMATORY AND PENAL AGENCIES

Walter T. Sumner, Chairman.

*Carl Bushnell
George A. Campbell
Harry J. Dunbaugh
Edward A. Fischkin
James J. Forstall
Herbert J. Friedman
Emil G. Hirsch
William H. Jackson
Sherman C. Kingsley
Daniel M. Lord
F. Emory Lyon
William J. Mack*

*W. Howard Moore
Austin C. Rishel
Sumner S. Weil
Frank C. Whitehead
Ambrose B. Wright
Benjamin Wilk
John E. Wing
John H. Witter
John L. Whitman,
Consulting Member
Victor Young,
Consulting Member*

Charities Registration

A sub-committee of the Committee on Charitable, Reformatory and Penal Agencies, appointed April 17, 1910, to consider how closer co-operation between the juvenile agencies of the city might be attained, reported on January 12, 1911, that much wasteful overlapping of work could be done away with if an adequate registration of cases were made through a central bureau. One case was cited where nine well-meaning societies were working with a dependent family at one and the same time. It was learned that such agencies in several cities in the United States, notably Boston, Buffalo and Kansas City, are clearing through a central bureau. The United Charities of Chicago have offered to perform this service here, and already sixteen organizations are co-operating.

Payment of Prisoners

The sub-committee on Payment of Prisoners, Dr. F. Emory Lyon of the Central Howard Association, Chairman, appointed June 24, 1910, reported on

(Note 21: The new state civil service law will apply to the State Factory Inspection Department. A slight increase in the appropriation for the Department was secured, but the work of the Department was also greatly enlarged by the enactment of new labor legislation, including the new ten-hour law for women, the occupational diseases act and the metal polishers' act prohibiting the use of basements for metal polishing or buffing.)

(Note 22: The "Child Actor Bill" failed to pass. A workmen's compensation act was passed and will become law on July 1.)

November 3, 1910, that wide divergence of opinion existed as to the advisability of such payments, but little difference of opinion as to the fundamental wrong involved in the suffering of the innocent dependents of prisoners. Investigation discovered serious legislative, administrative, industrial and social difficulties in the way of this reform, which, however, in the opinion of the sub-committee, are not insurmountable. Of twenty-five prison wardens who replied to a questionnaire sent out by the Chairman, more than half favored the payment of prisoners in some form. About two-thirds of them reported that some sort of remuneration was already being given. In general, no discrimination seems to be made in favor of prisoners with families, although in Washington, D. C., the contrary is the case. The chief objection to payment of prisoners seems to be the expense, for, contrary to an opinion generally prevailing, penal institutions are not usually self-supporting. The International Prison Congress, at its last session, held at Washington last October, approved the principle of paying prisoners.

Street Begging

A sub-committee on Street Begging, appointed April 27, 1910, found it necessary to broaden its inquiry to cover the subject of vagrancy, as there is no recognized legal differentiation between beggars and vagrants. The committee discovered that the methods used by the police courts in Chicago in handling the subject of vagrancy are totally inadequate, and that they do not result in materially lessening the evil. During a period of six months ending May 1, 1910, some seven hundred beggars and vagrants were reported by the Detective Bureau. The police records show that fully 85 per cent of such persons have at some time been convicted of larceny, robbery, picking pockets or burglary. It is evident, from even a superficial investigation, that persons of this class apprehended by the police are but a minor company of the great army of men who live about cheap lodging house and who have no means of honest support. Study of the methods used in other cities both in this country and abroad raises the question as to the feasibility of establishing a municipal farm where these men can not only be checked in their roving habits, but can be taught the value of work and can cultivate habits of industry. The committee also questions whether short sentences, as a method of controlling this situation, do more good than the naive habit of some of our authorities in giving a man a certain time to get out of town. Incidentally, the committee suggests that the provision of some cantons of Switzerland in making it a punishable offense to give alms might well be considered for adoption here.

Conditions at Joliet

The sub-committee named on May 5, 1911, to investigate the conditions of Chicago prisoners in Joliet and to learn the status of the proposed change of the site of the penitentiary, reported that the proposed change has been delayed by the exorbitant demands of property owners of desirable sites, and that condemnation proceedings might have to be started. In connection with the inquiries as to the conditions of prisoners, it was found that the ancient process of "stringing up" prisoners as a disciplinary measure is still resorted to at Joliet; also that the solitary confinement of obstreperous prisoners is common.

Regulation of Loan Sharks

The sub-committee on Loan Sharks, appointed September 22, 1910, brought to light the fact that various cities, such as Baltimore, Cincinnati, Detroit, New York and Boston, now have philanthropic loan companies, all of which are prospering. In Chicago, the only organization occupying this field is the Jewish Charity organization, which makes loans up to \$250 without interest, returnable in such sums and at such times as the circumstances of the borrowers permit. The sub-committee reported a number of recommendations as to legislation, and

the committee further recommended that the City Club join other civic organizations in perfecting plans for needed reforms in the salary loan business. The Chairman of the sub-committee joined in a conference with representatives of the Legal Aid Society, the Chicago Association of Commerce, the Commercial Club and the Industrial Club, and, as a result of these conferences, several bills were presented to the Legislature and a vigorous campaign through the press and at Springfield is now being made in their interest by the joint committee. These bills are as follows:

House Bill No. 322. "For an Act to define personal property brokers and regulate their charges and business and to provide penalties for the violation of certain provisions thereof."

House Bill No. 329. "For an Act to define personal property broker and to regulate the interest charges on loans made on chattel mortgage security, or the assignment of wages, and to repeal all acts and parts of acts inconsistent therewith."

House Bill No. 353. "For an Act in relation to assignment of wages."

House Bill No. 355. "For an Act to create chattel mortgage societies and to provide for the management and regulation thereof and designating the nature of security upon which loans may be made and limiting the rate of compensation and charges to be paid thereon." (Note 17.)

Charities Endorsement

A sub-committee on the Supervision of Charitable Organizations was appointed on May 11, 1910. It reported, in November, that an investigation of charitable organizations had already been undertaken by the Association of Commerce through a special committee on Charities Endorsement. The committee, therefore, discontinued consideration of this subject.

Other matters considered by the committee were the conditional release of prisoners, medical charities, methods of reporting data concerning criminals, release of prisoners from the House of Correction, regulation of the night messenger service and needed legislation for the blind.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

Sigmund Zeisler, Chairman.

*Jesse A. Baldwin
Dwight S. Bobb
Edwin H. Cassels
Charles V. Clark
Israel Cowen
Charles S. Cutting
Lynden Evans
Louis Mohr*

*William B. Moulton
Charles C. Pickett
Roscoe Pound
Victor A. Remy
Joseph G. Sheldon
Redmond D. Stephens
Clarke B. Whittier*

Congestion of the Appellate Court Docket

The principal subjects considered by the Committee on Administration of Justice during the year ending March 31, 1911, related to the frightfully congested docket of the Appellate Court in this district. The committee found that the total number of cases docketed in that court was 877 during the year 1907, 943 during the year 1908 and 1,023 during the year 1909. The total number of cases disposed of during 1908 was 741, against 653 disposed of during 1909. We found that the cases decided during 1910 had been pending in that court nearly two years. It was generally conceded that, in the absence of effective measures of relief, the court would necessarily fall farther and farther behind.

(Note 17: None of the bills passed.)

Written Opinions in the Appellate Court

Various measures of relief were thoroughly discussed and investigated. The committee unanimously favored legislation relieving the Appellate Courts of the duty of preparing opinions in cases wherein the judgment of the lower court is affirmed. A bill for this purpose, in the drafting of which the Chairman participated, was introduced in the Legislature at its present session. (Note 11.)

Appeals from the Municipal Court

In view of the fact that a large part of the present intolerable burden of the Appellate Court of this district may be traced to numerous appeals from judgments of the Municipal Court, the proposal has been made that the Municipal Court Act be so amended as to provide that, in contract cases involving less than one thousand dollars, motions for new trial should be heard by the trial judge, sitting together with two other judges of that court to be assigned for that purpose by its Chief Justice, and that, when such motion be overruled, the judgment of the Municipal Court should not be reviewable. A sub-committee, after thorough investigation of this proposal, reported that a law embodying it, though highly desirable, would in all likelihood be declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. No further action, therefore, was taken.

Appellate Court Commissioners

Another proposal considered by the committee was that the Appellate Court be given relief through the appointment of commissioners who would, as a matter of fact, hear and determine cases as though they were judges, but who, as a matter of form, would submit their opinions to the judges, who in turn would adopt the same as the judgment of the court. A sub-committee, after a very painstaking investigation, reported, February 3, 1910, that such a measure would be constitutional, but would meet with such opposition from the members of the bar as to have little chance of adoption by the Legislature. (Note 12.)

Branch Appellate Courts

Still another measure of relief considered by the committee was the establishment of one or more branch Appellate Courts. This would involve the taking of three or six judges of the local Circuit or Superior Court for Appellate Court duty, in addition to the six now assigned to that work. The committee unanimously favored this proposal, but only in case the Legislature could be prevailed upon to increase the number of our Circuit or Superior Court judges, because the latter, from whose number are also recruited all the judges of the Criminal Court, have now all the work they can possibly attend to. A bill drafted by the Chairman of the committee providing for six additional judges of the Superior Court, to be elected next November, was introduced in the Legislature. (Note 13.)

Licensed Interpreters and Stenographers

The advisability and constitutionality of a statute providing for official court interpreters and prohibiting any person not duly licensed in accordance with such proposed act from interpreting in any court, were considered by the committee and are at the present time the subject of investigation by a sub-committee.

The advisability and constitutionality of a proposed statute providing for the appointment of official stenographers and prohibiting all but such duly

(Note 11: This bill, however, met defeat.)

(Note 12: Such a bill, nevertheless, was passed by the Legislature at its recent session.)

(Note 13: This bill and also a bill for additional branch Appellate Courts were passed and have been signed by the Governor.)

licensed stenographers from acting as court reporters are likewise under investigation by a sub-committee.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON PUBLICITY AND STATISTICS

Oscar M. Wolff, Chairman.

Charles J. Barr

Frederick D. Bramhall

Edward Eagle Brown

Nathan P. Colwell

John Cummings

John A. Fairlie

George O. Fairweather

James A. Field

Thomas A. Hagerty

Frederick Z. Marx

Robert K. Morse

Frederic Rex

Ethelbert Stewart

A Bureau of Municipal Research Proposed

In April and May, 1910, such business as was transacted by the Committee on Publicity and Statistics was concerned principally with the project for establishing a Bureau of Municipal Research or its equivalent in Chicago. Inasmuch, however, as the committee learned that the Directors of the Club were already considering a similar proposal—which resulted, in July, 1910, in the organization of the Bureau of Public Efficiency—this topic of investigation was dropped.

In December, 1910, to increase the efficiency of the committee, a permanent sub-committee, under the chairmanship of Mr. Field, was appointed to interest itself in purely statistical investigations.

Steps Toward a Municipal Reference Bureau

The committee then took up the question of a Municipal Reference Bureau, and particularly considered whether or not this might best be organized by the Chicago Public Library. The committee was advised by Mr. Legler, the librarian, that the Library was financially unable to establish such a bureau at the present time. At the request of the committee, Alderman C. M. Thomson, of the Judiciary Committee of the City Council, in January, 1911, secured an opinion from the Corporation Counsel as to whether the City Council could legally appropriate money for the organization and maintenance of such a bureau by the Public Library. This opinion was adverse, and it was then too late for the committee to recommend any other form of organization to be provided for in the annual budget for 1911. If Senate Bill No. 112, however, now pending in the Legislature, designed to increase the amount of taxes which the Public Library can levy, becomes a law, it may enable the Library to establish such a bureau. (Note 14.)

Civil Service Publicity

At present the committee has under discussion the methods of publicity used by the Federal, State, County and City Civil Service Commissions in announcing examinations for positions under their control. Provisional reports have already been received by the committee from a special sub-committee appointed in March, 1911, to make an investigation of the subject, and a final report by the committee—with recommendations—will probably be the outcome of this study.

Local Official Publications

The committee has considered the advisability of making a study of the publications of local officials and governing bodies, with reference to the frequency of such publications, their time of publication, and their form, contents

(Note 14: This bill passed the Legislature, but was vetoed by the Governor.)

and general adequacy. It is the opinion of the committee that a systematic report of this subject would be valuable, but, thus far, the committee has found it impossible to undertake such a large and comprehensive work.

Other topics which the committee has had under discussion include the pending bill for a legislative reference bureau in connection with the State University and the proposed bill for registration of vital statistics in Illinois which has been recommended by the Division of Vital Statistics of the United States Census, by the State Board of Health and by various medical and legal societies. (Note 15.)

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON POSTAL SERVICE

Clement L. Clapp, Chairman.

William H. French

Stacy C. Mosser

Ralph R. Hazenhurst

Payson S. Wild

Newman Miller

The committee last year held regular fortnightly meetings, and its work may be classified and summarized briefly as follows:

1. *Proposed Changes in Laws Governing the Post Office Department.*

The committee began its work when the Postal Savings Bank Bill was pending in Congress, but before its investigation had proceeded deeply into the matter the bill was passed, and the subject was dropped.

Bill for the Reorganization of the Postal Department

As fundamental to our whole study, the committee then spent a considerable number of meetings in the somewhat careful study of a bill pending before Congress for the reorganization of the Post Office Department. This bill puts in control of the operation of the Department a Director of Posts, with life tenure of office, independent of political control. A comparison of the present organization of the Department with that prevailing in modern and effective business institutions and with the structure outlined in the proposed law proved very interesting and suggestive. The bill went to its death with the last Congress, but the committee regards the time spent in this investigation as altogether wisely used.

One meeting of the committee was devoted to listening to the very earnest and enthusiastic presentation of the need of Parcels Post by Mr. J. L. Cowles of New York City, Secretary of the Postal Progress League.

The Franking Privilege

Several meetings were held in co-operation with the City Club Committee on Political Nominations and Elections in consideration of certain alleged abuses of the franking privilege. The committees were convinced that the law permitting the use of the frank by Congressmen and other Government officials was seriously and widely abused, but it was advised that, as no construction has been placed upon the statute by the courts, an effort to remedy the abuses would be attended by much delay and difficulty. The committee was, however, convinced that serious waste and abuses exist and must be ended before the Post Office Department can be put upon a solid business basis.

2. *Improvements in Post Office Administration—General.*

Postal Facilities in Railway Stations

At the suggestion of the Civic Secretary, the committee has given considerable time to investigating the possibility of material improvement in facilities for mail-

(Note 15: Both of these bills were lost.)

ing letters, buying stamps, etc., at railway stations. This inquiry has been prompted by the fact that the hurried traveler, alighting for a moment from a passing train, finds telegraph and telephone facilities in American railway stations much more conveniently and conspicuously placed than those of the Post Office Department.

Representatives of your committee discussed the matter with some care with the officials of the Chicago Post Office and entered into communication with the postal authorities of most of the nations in Europe and the Americas for the purpose of obtaining definite information as to railway station mail facilities in other lands. The conclusions reached by this study were embodied in a memorial addressed to the Postmaster-General suggesting the possibility of improving the postal service at railway stations by placing mail boxes both in the station and on the train platform, so far as possible in a uniform position, and made conspicuous by signs of uniform style and color. This communication was submitted to the Directors of the City Club for their approval March 30. (Note 16.)

3. *Improvements in Post Office Administration—Local.*

As an introduction to some study of local conditions in the postal service, the committee was fortunate in securing the attendance at one of its meetings of Mr. W. A. Hutchinson, the postmaster of Oak Park. Mr. Hutchinson has given years of careful study and effort to the improvement of the efficiency of the office under his control. His clear and candid statement of the duties and difficulties confronting a conscientious post office official was of much value to the committee.

Collection Time Cards in Chicago

Inspections in various parts of the city, conducted by members of the committee, having demonstrated that, to a considerable extent, the time cards which should be attached to street mail boxes showing hours of collection of mail were either missing or mutilated, the committee entered into communication with the local post office authorities in reference to the matter, from which have followed two gratifying results. The time cards on these receptacles are now in much better condition than before, and your committee has a clearer realization of the difficulties which must be overcome in the post office in order to secure prompt and efficient performance of some of its simplest functions.

Other matters affecting the local efficiency of the post office are now under investigation.

Your committee has become deeply interested and not a little baffled by the problems involved in a number of independent agitations for changes in our postal laws or in the practices of the Department. Periodical publishers have brought out many significant facts in their campaign in opposition to the proposed increase in second class rates. Organized propaganda for Parcels Post and for one-cent letter postage are very active and persistent. Colossal abuses in connection with the franking privilege and important losses and inequalities in the purchase, sale and distribution of stamped envelopes are confidently and persistently charged.

Defects in Departmental Organization

An effort to investigate any of these problems reveals certain fundamental obstacles which must be overcome before scientifically efficient service and an adequate return for the money expended can be expected from the Post Office Department. The domination of practical politics puts the executive control of the Department in the hands of a man of large party and small public responsibility, and a brief tenure of office. An inevitable consequence is the real manage-

(Note 16: This letter, after some further consideration by the committee, was approved by the Directors and, on June 15, 1911, was sent to the Postmaster-General.)

ment of the large interests involved by subordinates whose fitness is often limited to a knowledge of the detail of their own departments and a jealous antagonism toward other branches of the postal service.

Even more immediately and critically disastrous is the utter absence of any adequate or scientific system of cost accounting—the methods and organization of the Department being the result of an exogenous enlargement of an organization formed for the demands and according to the ideals of many years ago rather than an endogenous development of organs of assimilation able to digest the enormous and complicated mass of detail of the post office of today.

The demand for radical reforms in the Post Office Department is becoming more insistent and the need for some intelligent appreciation of the elements of the problems involved more vitally necessary. To this end, the work of this committee may perhaps make some small contribution.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON BURIAL COSTS

Harry E. Smoot, Chairman.

T. W. Allinson

J. J. Forstall

Jenkin Lloyd Jones

Sherman C. Kingsley

Wm. R. Stirling

Graham R. Taylor

In April, 1910, a conference was called by the Civic Secretary of the Club to consider the cost of burials in this city, and the hardships, if any, resulting from expensive funerals or from excessive undertaker's charges. At this conference a committee was appointed to make a preliminary study of the situation. That committee, in May, 1910, submitted its findings and recommendations in a report to the Directors of The City Club, and the Directors thereupon appointed the above committee on the subject as one of the regular civic committees of the club.

This committee has gathered data as to burial conditions both in this country and abroad. A special report on foreign customs and costs prepared by Mr. Victor von Borosini is in the hands of the committee. An investigation of burial costs and customs in Chicago has been started at the instance of the committee, and schedules of questions on this subject have been placed in the hands of field workers of various social organizations in the city for the purpose of securing the necessary data. More than five hundred of these cards are now out. Upon the return of these cards the data will be tabulated and used as the basis for a report, with recommendations, to the Club Directors.

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PROPOSED PURCHASE OF VOTING MACHINES

In 1903 a law was passed by the Illinois General Assembly authorizing the election authorities of any city, village, incorporated town, county, precinct, election district or other civil division of the state to submit to the qualified voters of such specified divisions the adoption of voting machines for election purposes. This law was submitted to vote in the City of Chicago on November 4, 1904, and was approved by a majority of 229,577 to 27,481. On several occasions since that time the question of providing machines has been taken up by the Board of Election Commissioners; bids have been called for and opened and expert advice has been taken on the relative merits of different machines. No machines, however, have as yet been purchased.

On April 27, 1911, the question of purchasing machines having been again taken up by the Board, bids for 1,200 machines to supply the various precincts were advertised for and a special board of experts was appointed to investigate the machines submitted. Following this action, the Chicago Bureau of Public Efficiency on May 20, 1911, submitted to the Board of Election Commissioners a report on the subject recommending that the purchase of machines be limited to 100 until their practicability had been demonstrated in actual use and also recommending that no contract be entered into until satisfactory arrangements had been made with the city for the financing of the purchase.

In accordance with the action taken by the Election Commissioners, bids were received from the Empire, Triumph, International, and Winslow voting machine companies. The Empire machine received the endorsement of the Board of Experts. On June 30, the commis-

sioners, Mr. Anthony Czarnecki, the minority member, opposing, decided to purchase 1,000 machines of the Empire type at \$942.50 each.

On July 18, a discussion on the decision of the Board of Election Commissioners to purchase these machines was held at the City Club. Dr. Howard S. Taylor of the Board spoke in defense of the action of that body and in the course of his remarks read a number of telegrams received from various officials in Milwaukee, Indianapolis, San Francisco, Minneapolis, Syracuse, Rochester, Des Moines, Evansville, Ind., and Jamestown, N. Y., endorsing the use of voting machines.

Mr. George E. Hooker, Civic Secretary of the Club, read a letter from Mr. John E. Treleven of the Milwaukee Bureau of Economy and Efficiency, stating the experience of that city with voting machines and also reported that he had made a belated and unsuccessful effort to secure information with reference to the experience in Buffalo where it was understood that the machines had not proved satisfactory. Other places where it is reported that trouble has been experienced with the machines are the State of New Jersey—where many of the machines have been discarded—and the cities of Cleveland, Los Angeles and Peru, Ind. No reports from these cities however, were presented to the Club.

Mr. George C. Sikes spoke with reference to the report of the Chicago Bureau of Public Efficiency, stating also his personal views upon the situation.

Mr. Anthony Czarnecki, the minority member of the Board of Election Commissioners, presented his reasons for opposing the decision of the Board. Prof. Clarence E. DePuy, of Lewis In-

stitute, a member of a former board of experts, which reported upon various types of machines, including the Empire, stated that while he considered the Empire machine to be generally satisfactory from the purely mechanical point of view, he was not entirely satisfied as to its practicability under the conditions of a Chicago election. Mr. Shelby M. Singleton, Secretary of the Citizens' Association, discussed the report of the expert commission and the adaptability of the machines for use in primary elections. Mr. W. L. Abbott, one of the experts employed by the Commission to investigate the merits of the machines, spoke with reference to the report of the experts upon that subject. Mr. Francis X. Busch presided.

A sample of the Empire voting machine was on exhibition in the dining room for the inspection of those in attendance.

The discussion is printed herewith:

Dr. Howard S. Taylor

"Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the City Club: This is not a job that I earnestly sought. The facts are that Judge Owens of the County Court was invited to discuss this question before the City Club, but the judge is exceedingly busy at this time of the year with his calendar and could not appear. I am therefore here as a drafted substitute, not as a cheerful volunteer, and allow me to say upon that point that the Judge did not tell me what to say. I think I know his general views, but you will understand, gentlemen, that in the remarks I shall make, I am expressing my own opinion, from some portions of which Judge Owens might dissent.

"I take for granted that the members of the City Club want to hear about the substantial questions connected with this problem and that they do not care to hear a fruitless discussion of the many false innuendoes that have been published in some of the Chicago newspapers. To begin with, then, let me say that in my conception, the Board of Election Commissioners have not been precipitate or rash in moving forward on this proposition. It is now ten years since active and earnest efforts began in Chicago to obtain voting ma-

chines. Those efforts were at the time, as I could easily establish, supported by practically all of the newspapers in the city, as well as by the election officials. It is eight years since the voting machine law was passed, mainly upon the insistence of the Chicago people. It is seven years since the people of Chicago, voting on a referendum on this question, said at the polls by a majority of about nine to one that they wanted voting machines, and it is six years since the Supreme Court of Illinois decided that the voting machine law was constitutional and valid in every part. Apparently Chicago has not been hasty; apparently a decade of study on this question ought to have ripened public and official sentiment to a point of doing something.

"The voting machine is not a speculative device any longer. It is not an experiment. Five thousand voting machines are now being used in the United States, as I am credibly informed. I have taken the pains, gentlemen, within the last few days to obtain some information on this subject, not from newspapers, but from officials in many cities of the United States. It is vacation season, many officials are away, and therefore a few of the places I addressed—only a few—have failed to respond. I want to read these telegrams. This is from Milwaukee, a city of 373,000 population, made up of the most diversified nationalities, races and classes:

Milwaukee's Experience

Milwaukee, Wis.,
July 17, 1911.

Am pleased to state that we have used voting machines in Milwaukee for nine years and, judging from my experience of a year in office, am of the opinion that they are decidedly more satisfactory, orderly and economical than paper ballots. Am convinced our people would not willingly return to the paper ballot.

CARL D. THOMPSON,
City Clerk.

"The other telegrams are as follows:

Indianapolis, Ind.,
July 10, 1911.

Marion County owns one hundred and fifty voting machines. We save twenty thousand dollars at an election by their use. Have never had a machine break down or get out of order. Voters would not do without them,

as they insure fair election and give an honest, accurate count.

BOARD OF COUNTY COMMISSIONERS,
CARL VON HALLE,
President.

San Francisco,
July 15, 1911.

I am well convinced after a prolonged and careful study of the subject and a close observation of the device in operation that the voting machine, when once pronounced mechanically infallible by competent experts, is the best safeguard for the people's rights at elections. San Francisco used a large number of voting machines in an election held here in 1905 and the result was generally admitted to be satisfactory. The city did not then possess a full equipment, which gave opportunity for comparison between the use of the machines and the Australian ballot system. In every polling place where the machine was used money was saved to the city by having to use but half the number of election officers required in the booth where the Australian ballot prevailed. There can be no question but that the machine accurately and properly registers the wish of the voter and is an incorruptible conveyer of his expressed desire. Steel and iron cannot be deceived into dishonesty, and if the machine is once found to be perfect in its mechanical construction and operation the chance for fraud is reduced to the minimum. In due course of time these machines pay for themselves. Ballot boxes have been looted. Dishonest election officers have juggled with the counting and returns. All of this is obviated in the use of the proper voting machine, and the people get a square deal. A ticket can be split or shaded to suit the voter as readily with the voting machine as with the paper ballot. In the election held here in 1905 but two complaints concerning the machines reached the election commissioners, and that was where voters had to be assisted, or through error carelessly jammed the machinery. The voting machine stands for a clean and honest election and saving the taxpayers a great sum of money through reducing the expense of each election.

P. H. MCCARTHY,
Mayor.

Minneapolis, Minn.,
July 9, 1911.

The City of Minneapolis has used voting machines in all elections since 1908. We have found them accurate, economical and wholly satisfactory.

K. C. HAYNES,
Mayor.

San Francisco, Cal.,
July 14, 1911.

Alameda County has used the Dean ballot machine for the past six years. They effect a saving in this county of \$45 per precinct or machine in election officers, cost of booths and printing of ballots. This saving could be made much greater by consolidation of precincts. Absolutely accurate in operation, im-

possible of manipulation unless every one—commissioners, election officers and bystanders—are crooked. Result definitely known one hour after closing of polls. Life of machine should be unlimited. Use here generally satisfactory, although some criticism from those failing to familiarize themselves with machine prior to voting.

JOHN P. COOK,
County Clerk.

Indianapolis, Ind.,
July 10, 1911.

Cannot recommend voting machines too highly. Indianapolis has used them at all elections during past eight years, and we know they are the most economical, accurate and satisfactory method of holding elections.

SAMUEL LEWIS SHANK,
Mayor.

Syracuse, N. Y.,
July 9, 1911.

Congratulate Chicago upon adoption of voting machines. Syracuse has used them for eight years and they have been very satisfactory.

SETH D. BAKER,
Commissioner of Elections,
Oneida County.

Rochester, N. Y.,
July 10, 1911.

We congratulate you upon adoption of voting machines. Have used them here with entire satisfaction for twelve years. Recent legislative attempts to interfere with their use aroused state-wide protest, which quickly resulted in abandonment of attempt.

H. A. NICHOLS,
Commissioner of Elections.

Rochester, N. Y.,
July 10, 1911.

Noticed by newspapers Chicago has adopted voting machines. You are to be congratulated. The results will be a secret ballot and orderly elections, with little or no opportunity for bribery or intimidation.

J. M. QUIGLEY,
Chief of Police

Evansville, Ind.,
July 10, 1911.

Replying to your telegram: Have used United States voting machines eight years. Never out of order; save half expense; time saved in count; simple to vote mixed ticket; result of election immediately; every vote counted; no mutilated ballots; half number of precincts; voters satisfied.

THOMAS C. RUSTON,
President Commissioners,
Vanderburg County, Indiana

Des Moines, Iowa,
July 10, 1911.

In response to your inquiry would say that the city of Des Moines and Polk County use Empire voting machines, and they give uni-

versal satisfaction. They not only eliminate much fraud, but much expense and much labor.

H. B. FRAS, County Auditor.
F. T. MORRIS, Chairman Supervisor.
J. A. BACKMAN, Supervisor.
J. H. MATHIS, Supervisor.
P. F. MALLY, Supervisor.
A. C. FISHER, Supervisor.

Jamestown, N. Y.,
July 10, 1911.

Congratulations on adoption of voting machine. We have used machines with satisfactory results for twelve years, and the voters have been pleased with this method.

SAMUEL A. CARLSON,
Mayor.

"This by no means, gentlemen, exhausts the possible testimonials of this kind. I did not commence this inquiry in other cities until a few days ago. It is a season of the year when it is pretty hard to get at officials. As a matter of fact, I venture the proposition that a study, approximately as close as my own, will demonstrate to anybody that the voting machine in the United States is as practicable as the cash register or the computing machine.

Newspaper Sentiment

"Now, have we been running ahead of Chicago sentiment? Have the Board of Election Commissioners been too 'heady' in taking the lead in this matter? I have just recited to you the fact that the subject is ten years old in Chicago. Let me add now that every one of the English newspapers in Chicago has been in favor of the proposition until within the last three or four months.

"The Chicago Record-Herald of March 5, 1909, said:

Six years ago the Legislature authorized the use of voting machines at elections in this state. Chicago was the place in which the need of machines was most strongly felt, and steps were at once taken here toward securing them. The Council approved the expenditure of money for the purpose, and repeatedly made appropriations, leaving the actual purchases in the hands of the election commissioners.

Several reasons have united to bring it about, nevertheless, that machines are not yet in use. In the first place, there was some delay till the Supreme Court had passed on the constitutionality of the act. Then at one stage an impending election, at which the choice of all the Municipal Court judges at once, besides many other officers, resulted in a blanket ballot too big for any machine normally needed,

caused a postponement. More important than anything else, however, continual tests were being made to make sure that the machines were in every way perfected for Chicago uses.

Satisfied at last in every respect, the election commissioners advertised a few weeks ago for bids. Now, however, the Council finance committee has dropped the anticipated \$100,000 appropriation from the year's budget. Apparently the introduction of the machines must be postponed still longer.

In view of the great need of economy in the City Hall it is hard to show where money can be secured. But it is nevertheless a pity the machines are not to be bought. It is especially a pity since, despite their initial cost, they mean ultimate saving. Once equipped with machines, the polling places can be more economically manned and elections of all kinds will be cheaper. It would seem that some method of purchase on installments could be devised which would avoid any heavy burden on this year's income, while at the same time securing the benefit of the permanent economy in the cost of elections.

Here is a quotation from the Chicago Daily News of March 5, 1909, protesting against further delay in purchasing machines:

This looks like a case of being penny wise and pound foolish. Elections held with voting machines are far less expensive to the taxpayers than are those held under the present cumbersome and inaccurate system.

"Here is a long editorial from the esteemed Tribune urging the adoption of voting machines. This is of date April 4, 1907, four years ago. The esteemed Tribune was impatient, almost irascible, because the Commissioners did not buy machines. I will not read from that, I have not the time, but I will simply refer to it.

"Here is another one from the Record-Herald about a year and a half ago. I read this one in full, because I think it illustrates a situation."

Long, long ago the Legislature authorized the use of voting machines in Chicago elections. Long ago, though not quite so long, the Supreme Court sustained the law. Several times the City Council has made provisional appropriations for a beginning in equipping the city.

The history of the many advertisements for bids, of the many examinations of machines submitted, and of the many excuses offered for postponing action, would be tiresomely long. We refrain from going into it. Some of the excuses may be classified from plausible to fair, when considered individually; but all the excuses taken in a row are distinctly lacking in plausibility.

We have just had new bids submitted, and a new set of tests is just beginning. Coincidentally, however, we hear the first pipings of a new-old excuse for non-action—namely, that a new primary law impends, and that it is wise to wait, wait, wait.

Incidentally it is known that the introduction of machines will mean a great saving in election expenses, partly in doing away with the printing bills and partly in reducing the number of party workers who must be paid for service at the polls as precinct officials.

The reduction of expenses is one of the great direct arguments for buying the machines.

Is it also indirectly one of the causes of the delay?

"I have not the time to read further from these press clippings, but I affirm again, gentlemen, that, up to within a very few months of the present time, all of the newspapers of Chicago, the Tribune, the Record-Herald, the News, the Inter-Ocean, the Journal, the Post, and, of course, both of the Hearst newspapers have been unitedly in favor of equipping the city with voting machines.

"All three of the county court judges who have occupied the bench of this court preceding Judge Owens—Judge Houston, Judge Rinaker and Judge Carter—are in record in favor of voting machines, and that speedily. I stop just long enough to read a paragraph from an interview with Judge Carter on February 1, 1907, denying the report that he was opposed to voting machines, but urging their immediate adoption, and stating at the conclusion of this interview:

All obstacles have been cleared away, and I am in favor of immediate use of voting machines. They are simpler to the average voter than the present system, and with the expedition I have stated before, there will be a generally improved condition at elections. Again, this expedition will make it possible to enlarge the precincts; thus a saving in the cost of elections will be had.

Special Grand Jury Recommends Machines

"I think I have established, gentlemen, to your satisfaction that voting machines are the progressive, fully demonstrated method of holding elections in big cities, cities of cosmopolitan population, cities with working classes and with trading classes and with all other classes, and the universal testimony is in their favor. I have demonstrated to you that Chicago has been crawling along through a dec-

ade with everybody apparently agreed, the vote of the people, the voice of the county judges, the united voice of the press, the election commissioners. Last of all I want to read to you from a certified copy of the Grand Jury's report, two years ago, when sixty-six different persons were indicted in Chicago for felonies in connection with the election law. In their report rendered to the criminal court December 4, 1908, the grand jury said:

From the facts coming to our knowledge, we express serious doubts whether there has been any honest general or city election in Chicago for years past.

"After discussing tentatively several methods of correcting this evil, they said, as the conclusion and summary of it all:

Therefore, to reduce the opportunity for errors, prevent frauds, lessen the cost, secure prompt announcement of the result of the election, and prevent the holding back of the announcement of results in one ward in order to defeat some candidate who is leading in another ward, we recommend that satisfactory voting machines should be purchased and installed at each precinct at the earliest practical moment.

"The people, the press, the county court and the grand jury under oath filled up the decade behind us with orders to this Board, and I conceive it our duty now to go ahead.

Why the Empire Machine Was Chosen

"Now, there are two more questions that I would like to speak on, for I think they are very important. You may ask, why, if the Board of Election Commissioners thought that it was desirable to obtain voting machines, they should select the Empire machine.

"In the first place, we selected the Empire machine because Mr. Abbott, Mr. Wooley and Mr. Chamberlain, the board of experts appointed by County Judge Owens, men, all of them, in high standing in their several professions, agreed in putting the Empire first in the class of desirable machines. In the second place, we approved this type, because this is in entire agreement with the reports that have been made previously by experts. I have one of them along. I bring this particular report, because

it is the only one of the old reports that makes a final comparison between the machines. Prof. Leutweiler of the State University examined several machines, and less than two years ago he said in the concluding portion of his report, which I have taken from the files in our office.

The one machine that, in the opinion of the writer, comes nearest to fulfilling all the conditions of a voting machine is the Empire voting machine.

"Another reason for our selection was this: There are in use today in the United States about five thousand voting machines, in nearly 400 municipalities, ranging from Buffalo with 400,000 population down to comparatively small villages. In over 400 municipalities in the state of New York, they are now being used, and, so far as I can ascertain, the great majority of them are either of the Dean, the Standard or the Empire type. All three of these types belong to the Empire Company. The Empire machine is, in fact, the Standard machine with two or three of the desirable devices on the Dean and Columbia added to it to make it an effective Chicago machine. The Empire machine, therefore, is entitled to the benefit of all these recommendations which I have read to you from telegrams. It is a machine that has been tried and approved. I doubt if that can be said of any other single machine that has been offered to the city board.

"Let me add another reason for the action of the Board in choosing the Empire machine. The Empire company has a large factory at Jamestown, New York, actually engaged in the sole business of manufacturing and selling voting machines. It has put up its bond and its certified check as a guarantee of good faith and from the fact that it is in the machine business, has a large number of machines in operation, is well financed and has a factory of sufficient capacity, I, for one, speaking of one of the facts that helped me to decide, state that there is every reason for taking this machine on the ground of the responsibility of the firm. These are the reasons why we voted to take the Empire machine.

A Thousand Machines Needed

"Last of all, the question will arise why a thousand voting machines should be purchased. Perhaps it looks rash for the Election Board to buy a thousand machines. If the city of Chicago, now having about 425,000 registered voters, were separated into precincts of 600 voters each, 710 machines would be required at once to supply these precincts. As a matter of fact, however, the state law does not compel us to assign 600 voters in each precinct; that is merely advisory. In many places in this city, where there is a sparse population, in order to accommodate the voters and make it unnecessary for them to travel long distances to get to the polls, we must have more precincts.

"Not only so, but I want you to remember, gentlemen, that this contract will extend over two years, covering four installments, commencing within eight months of this time. Chicago is growing at the rate of 75,000 every year. We are also annexing new territory every year; it is almost certain that within the next two years there will be further large accessions.

"That is not all. We have a community where every once in a while there is a great leap in our registration. Next year is presidential year. A little while back, between two presidential elections, the vote in Chicago jumped 108,000, far beyond any actual ordinary growth. We have to anticipate this growth, and as the final installment of machines is not deliverable until over two years from now, we feel that we have been very moderate in estimating a thousand machines.

"On June 17, 1907, the Chicago Evening Post interviewed the Board of Election Commissioners and came out with this report, which I think is approximately correct—the most that can be hoped for ordinarily from a newspaper report.

The Commissioner said: "As most of the machines average about \$750 apiece, we are counting on purchasing in the neighborhood of 140 as a starter, but ultimately the city will need about a thousand machines."

"Four years ago, then, the Board estimated that a thousand machines were needed.

"The Technical World Magazine for February, 1906, contained a long article from Isaac N. Powell, formerly Chief Clerk of the Election Board:

It is the almost universal experience that voting machines present the following advantages over any other method of registering the will of the people. They compel every voter to vote in secrecy; they make it mechanically impossible to cast a defective ballot. In Illinois alone at every general election 40,000 voters lose their votes because of wrongly marked paper ballots. They cannot be made to show results. They prevent error. When the voting is ended the count is ended. They largely reduce the cost of the election. Buffalo, N. Y., saved \$12,000 over the Australian system at each election.

"I have advices that \$28,000 was saved in Buffalo. Mr. Powell further says:

Better results would be obtained should the machines be introduced gradually, say by the equipment of one-third of the precincts at each succeeding election until the full quota is secured. The use of voting machines would lessen the election expenses. At present Chicago has 1,254 election precincts. The use of machines based upon the law would reduce the number to not more than 900. Estimated on that basis, the use of voting machines during 1905 would have saved in the pay of judges and clerks of election and in the rent of polling places \$76,200, one year. Probably the added expense of storage (and I say there will be no added expense), the skilled care of the machines (there will be no skilled-care expense, because the company, under the contract, engages to keep the machines in repair for five years) would reduce this saving several hundred dollars.

"That was written in February, 1906. Mr. Powell then believed that 900 machines in three installments was the proper thing. Five years afterwards we have proposed to contract for the delivery of 1,000 machines in four installments, deliverable in a little more than two years. Have we been unreasonable? Are we not justified by the opinion of our predecessors?" (Applause.)

The Chairman called upon Mr. George C. Sikes, Secretary of the Chicago Bureau of Public Efficiency, which on May 20, 1911, issued a report on the subject, to speak with reference to the proposed purchase of voting machines.

George C. Sikes

"Mr. Chairman, I would like to have it understood at the start that I have no authority to speak for the Chicago Bu-

reau of Public Efficiency. The views of the Bureau are to be found in written reports, which are issued with the approval of the Board of Trustees. They have issued a report on the subject of voting machines, put forth before the subject had received as much attention as it has lately. However, for the convenience of those who have not looked at that report, or who may not do so, I will merely undertake to summarize it.

"The Bureau makes a business of studying the expenditures of public bodies. When it was discovered that voting machines were likely to be purchased, perhaps to the amount of a million dollars, the Bureau in the regular course of its work took up the study of that subject.

"It may be conceded that Dr. Taylor's general arguments are sound. I presume that few of you who have followed the elections in Chicago would dispute the desirability of having voting machines if a satisfactory device can be found. The conclusion at which the Bureau arrived, however, was that ordinary business prudence would suggest somewhat more moderation than the Board of Election Commissioners has in mind. The Bureau's report was addressed not to the general proposition of the desirability of voting machines, but to the specific proposition of buying 1,200 machines at once—at the time the specifications were issued, they called for 1,200 machines.

"We will assume that the experts say that the machine is all that it purports to be from the mechanical point of view. There are still some problems which remain to be solved. Here is on exhibition a type of the machine which the Election Commissioners have ordered. You can see that it is quite large, yet the machine which is to be purchased for Chicago will be much larger. The Empire Company, which has put this machine on the market, has not yet built a machine that will conform to the specifications of the Chicago Election Commissioners.

Difficulties of Machine Voting in Chicago

"There are several reasons why the use of voting machines in Chicago pre-

sents difficulties that are not to be found elsewhere. The first difficulty is the tremendous size of the ballot. In none of the cities in which voting machines are in use will you find as large a ballot as that submitted in the fall election in Cook County. For that reason Cook County will require a larger machine than is in use anywhere else or than this company has yet constructed.

"Then, too, we have cumulative voting for members of the Legislature, a system which is not in use anywhere else. That presents special difficulties. Group voting, such, for instance, as when we vote for fourteen judges and ten County Commissioners, makes additional complications.

"This machine, moreover, has not been put to the test in a primary, at which a large number of candidates are to be voted for. We get such a primary next April. It is, of course, the intention of the Board of Election Commissioners that the machine will be used at the primary as well as at the regular election. Aside from mere mechanical excellence, there are features in connection with the use of machines at primaries and elections at which long ballots must be voted, that are still in the experimental stage. The understanding is that the tests we have had have been mostly at elections at which very few officers were chosen."

MR. GEORGE E. COLE: "Granted the short ballot, would you still be in favor of voting machines?"

MR. SIKES: "That is a question of judgment. I don't know that I ought to undertake to answer. If you had a short ballot, the need for voting machines would not be as great, but on the other hand the problem of providing the machines would be simpler. You could get a much simpler machine and a much cheaper machine.

"The recommendation of the Bureau was that the Election Board should buy not to exceed 100 machines at the outset and that those machines be subjected to a test at the April primary of next year and at the election of 1912, on both of which occasions we will have a large number of candidates to vote for. We can then see just how they work, not merely as mechanical devices, but under

the conditions of having voters who do not understand them well undertake to use them. It is the theory of the law that this long ballot should be voted in a minute. A man can vote a straight ticket by one pull, but if he wants to scratch just one name, he must pull every key separately. Of course, at the primary there are no straight ballots, so every key has to be pulled separately. The law says the election officials may drive a voter out of the polling place at the end of a minute.

"There has been no such trial of the machine anywhere as we will have in Chicago. Dr. Taylor is right in saying that the machines have been used successfully in some places, but in other places there have been complaints. For example, in New Jersey, I understand, the machines were not popular.

Recommendations of the Bureau of Public Efficiency

"The point made by the Bureau was that ordinary business prudence would require that not to exceed one hundred machines should be purchased now. Dr. Taylor may say that these machines will be delivered in installments, and that they will not all be delivered by next year. But my answer to that would be that the contract should not be concluded until the machines have had a trial in the complicated primaries of next April and the fall election of 1912. The Legislature will meet the following winter, and whatever changes experience demonstrates are necessary in the law can be made at that time.

"Another question is that of financing the proposition. I do not know yet just how they intend to pay for these machines. It appears to be the policy to enter into this contract for voting machines without consulting the city authorities and the city has to pay the bill. Now, if a million dollars may be drawn out of the treasury at once without the appropriating body of the city having anything to say in the matter, you can easily see that you might badly disarrange the city's finances. If it is the intention to issue some sort of a bond, the city authorities ought to be consulted about that in advance. I think that before the contract is concluded, we

ought to know precisely what the method of financing is to be, and how these bills are to be paid.

"The former Board of Election Commissioners which set out to purchase voting machines had advance appropriations of \$100,000 from the City Council on two different occasions, if not three. It was the intention of the Board to purchase only 100 voting machines at the outset and they had an appropriation from the Council before they began to advertise. On the present occasion, there has been no consultation with the financial authorities of the city. The prior Board failed to purchase because it was thought, all things considered, that a satisfactory machine had not been devised.

"Ordinary business prudence therefore, would seem to require that no contract should be made for more than 100 machines, until after the trial at the primaries and election of 1912, and that the manner of financing the proposition be taken up with the city authorities in advance." (Applause.)

CHAIRMAN BUSCH: "The minority member of the Election Board, Mr. Czarnecki, is here, and as I understand he takes a somewhat different view of this question from Dr. Taylor, we would like to hear from him.

Anthony Czarnecki

"Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the Club: In the first place, I merely came here to hear my friend and colleague, Dr. Taylor, talk to you on the subject of voting machines and I did not expect to say anything myself. It is true that we differ on the subject. Even the United States Supreme Court differs on important questions in its decisions, and I assume that when they do differ, they differ reluctantly. That is true of our Board too. Dr. Taylor is a lawyer who has had a good deal of experience in public life. Chairman Kellermann is the head of a foundry and an expert on building machinery. Perhaps those two gentlemen with the vast experience at their command and their special training are able to put their side of the case in a more comprehensive and logical way than I can do.

"I wish to state at the very outset,

so that my position may be made clear, that I do not oppose the voting machine as such in the city of Chicago. I have been differing on the proposition and have refused at every step consistently to approve the actions of my colleagues in connection with the voting machine problem because I could not reach any other conclusion than the one I did to the satisfaction of my own conscience.

"There are many reasons to justify my position but in the time limit of this discussion a few of them will suffice to make my position clear. In the first place the Empire voting machine as submitted to the Board of Election Commissioners of the city of Chicago and offered for sale to us, is not at this time in use in any large city in the United States. It has never been tried elsewhere to any large extent.

"For this reason and in view of the fact that there is a conflict of reports as to whether the voting machines are desirable or not—the conflict being in reports from New Jersey and other places where complaint is made against them and those from the various places just enumerated by Dr. Taylor where praise is given them—I could not arrive at any other conclusion than I have and I could not bring myself to support the proposition.

"The conditions in Chicago elections under the existing laws are different than in places where voting machines are now used. The cumulative voting for members of the Legislature, the restrictive voting for University Trustees by women, the large ballot, the large number of candidates both at elections and at the direct primaries, the party circle do not all of them exist in any state at this time where voting machines are used.

What the Experts Say

"In my investigation of the subject matter I have looked into the reports of the various expert examiners of voting devices made to the previous Board of Election Commissioners, and also into the one submitted to the present Board. From a study of these reports I have discovered difficulties which, although clearly indicated, have not been cured in the machine now submitted to us, but

remain in it in spite of the expert's reports. These reports furnished many strong reasons for my attitude and helped to guide my conduct in opposing the project as outlined by the majority of the board.

"Dr. Taylor has quoted from a report of Prof. O. A. Leutwiller, Assistant Professor of Machine Design of the University of Illinois in support of the Empire voting machine. I wish also to quote from that professor's report and particularly to read you his conclusion preceding the statement read to you by Dr. Taylor. This conclusion is as follows:

The writer feels that some improvements have been made in the design of voting machines since the investigation of a year and a half ago. However, there seems to be considerable more to be done along that line before the voting machines will stand the thorough test that they necessarily must be subjected to, and until the defects mentioned in the foregoing sections of this report are entirely eliminated, the writer recommends that the Board of Election Commissioners of the City of Chicago postpone the purchase of voting machines.

"A report submitted to the old board by George O. Olson, in 1910, sets forth the following which is just as applicable at this time to the machine submitted as it was to the machine which that expert examined:

The straight party vote is controlled by one pointer and the voter cannot tell from the face of the machine what candidates he has voted for. This is a very simple construction from the manufacturer's point of view, but I think very unsatisfactory for the voter. I called special attention to this (I call it a defect) in my report of November 8, 1907, on the Columbia voting machine. The Columbia machine, gentlemen, is now said to be included in the composite machine—the Empire—submitted to us. Expert Olson's report of last year, from which I am quoting, was upon an Empire machine.

"Further, this expert says about the Empire machine that 'it is entirely too heavy, composed of too many parts, and I consider it unwise to purchase any machine of this type at the present time, as I am convinced we can look for great improvements in the near future.' He also finds fault with the construction of the legs of the machine setting forth that 'the judges and clerks are not as a rule machinery movers, and that is what they

ought to be to handle a machine that weighs 800 pounds and put it upon the legs. The danger of accident would be very great. I would accept any machine that was constructed along these lines.'

"Prof. C. E. De Puy is another expert whose report on the Empire machine I desire to quote to you. He recites the admitted advantages of the machine—which I concede exist—but in conclusion sets forth the following:

To offset these advantages, however, the machine is large, heavy and difficult to move and store. If many machines were used in an election it would be a great undertaking to get them properly adjusted and placed in the voting places. The custodian would fill a very responsible position, for on him would depend the adjustment of the machines and he, through error or fraud, could so adjust the machine that it would nullify its operation in a given election. In the light of these facts, I believe that it is not desirable for the Board of Election Commissioners to purchase many of these machines at present.

Restricted Inspection Device Important

"The fact that the machine submitted to us lacks a proper device to restrict the number of inspections to three is another reason which forbids me to support the project. There is a device on some of the machines submitted to us which does restrict the inspections to three—one on the night before election, one the morning of election and one the night of election. It is claimed by the Empire Voting Machine Company people that this lack of a restricting device can be remedied, and that they will be able to put on some seals. I do not know whether their claims are true or not. The fact is the claim has not been put to a test and has not been proven.

"There is a great deal more importance attached to the proposition of inspection three times and no more, as the law provides should be done, than appears at first blush. Curious and interested judges during an election or primary having access to the counters more than thrice times—if they are not overscrupulous or if they are intensely interested in some candidate—might during the election or primary day, say at about 2 o'clock in the afternoon, wish to find out how their friend or his opposing candidate is running and what extra measures are needed, if

any, for their friend's election. Perhaps this lack of a restrictive device for three inspections may and will be cured as claimed by the voting machine men but up to the present time they have done nothing except to make their claim.

"As to other questions involved in this problem, such as advisability of buying only a small number of machines for actual test at next year's primary and election, the question of financing, the question of giving a greater opportunity for competition and for public hearings and a more thorough investigation, my position has been made pretty clear to all through the press. The board has differed upon the question of action upon recommendations made by the Chicago Bureau of Public Efficiency and upon the methods of procedure. The details of the purchase have been settled upon by a vote of two to one on practically every occasion.

"I hope that the predictions of the Empire Voting Machine Company and Dr. Taylor regarding the Empire machine may be realized, but I have been and am still skeptical myself as to the results claimed, for the numerous reasons which loom up against them.

Absence of Party Lever A Defect

"One of our points of difference to which I wish to call your attention is the absence of a party lever on the Empire voting machine. I believe that a party lever is desirable. My colleagues believe otherwise. Without a party lever no grand total of the votes cast for any candidate is given by the machine when the polls close. With a party lever such a grand total is given. There is a party key on the Empire voting machine. If you wish to vote a straight party ticket you pull down a party key of your party and the record of your vote is in the totals of the straight party vote of that particular party. This of course is easy. If you want to scratch your ticket—if only for one candidate when there are fifty running for various offices—you are obliged to pull down the key for every individual except the candidate whom you desire to scratch and then pull down the key for your favorite on the other ticket. There is a click sound to every key as you pull it down

and judges and clerks of election as well as others who watch progress of elections in polling places have no difficulty in knowing that you do or do not vote a straight party ticket. At the close of the day's voting without the party lever, the Empire voting machine gives totals of the straight party vote and the individual vote for each candidate. The total straight party vote must be added to each and every total of votes cast for the individual candidates of that particular party. This would extend over all precincts and would mean many additions by many judges and clerks which of course makes error very possible, and practically unavoidable just as under the present system.

"The Empire machines does not have a printing device which furnishes a correct printed record of the counters of the machine before the polls open and after they close. The printing arrangement or device works well on some machines and the voting machine men claim it is not very difficult to put on. It is a desirable device and should not be ignored by us.

"I have some firm views upon several questions which affect the voting machine problem. Some of these I sought to have adopted by my colleagues but without effect. One of my convictions—or hobbies, too, if I may call them such—relates to the question of large expenditures of public funds. I firmly believe that the policy which prevails quite general now to submit to the vote of the people the question of the expenditure of large sums of money for any public contract, should be especially followed in connection with the buying of 1,000 voting machines. I believe that there should be a referendum vote to determine whether the people are satisfied and whether they wish us to spend this large sum of money for voting machines—for it affects their pockets heavily.

"There are other questions and problems involved in the voting machine situation in this city which time will not permit me to discuss now. In closing permit me to state that I know Dr. Taylor has worked diligently and hard in investigating the whole problem and so have his colleagues. Wherever and whenever we differed, we respected each

others views and tried to understand each others viewpoints. I thank you for your kind attention. That is all I will say for the present." (Applause.)

Prof. C. E. De Puy, of Lewis Institute, one of the 1907 Board of Experts which inquired into the merits of the various voting machines, spoke as follows:

Prof. C. E. De Puy

"The question of voting machines has been considered by the Board of Election Commissioners for a number of years. About four years ago, I was called upon to examine some of the machines. All of those submitted proved unsatisfactory. About six months later another test was provided and these machines again proved unsatisfactory. I examined various machines at four different times and until a year ago always found some mechanical difficulties, in the way of their adoption. The Empire voting machine, which was submitted at that time, seemed to work satisfactorily from a mechanical point of view but the points that have been raised in regard to its size and to the difficulty of getting the voters to understand its operation seemed to me then and seem now not to have been satisfactorily dealt with. Those matters should be gone into more thoroughly than has been the case up to the present time. The only proper way of dealing with this matter, I believe is to try some of the machines in a general election.

"In small elections, where there are only a few candidates, I think there is no question but that voting machines will save time and expedite the returns. But in a general election, with the seventy-key, nine-party machine that is contemplated, the voter who wishes to split his ticket, will have to study those seventy keys in order to find the candidate he wants. The voter who is not familiar with the law, with the ticket and with the machine, will, I think, be confused. These things are vital. It seems to me that the only way to determine whether voting machines are at the present time practicable in Chicago, is to try them in a number of precincts in a general election and find out what

the voters will do with them." (Applause.)

MR. T. A. HAGERTY: "Is it a fact that a rule has been made that a voter will be permitted to remain only one minute in a machine?"

CHAIRMAN BUSCH: "That is one of the provisions of the voting machine law?"

MR. HAGERTY: "In my judgment, as a judge of election at different times, a voter takes more time in looking over the ticket and picking out his candidate, than he does in making the cross. Possibly it will take longer to pull the levers than it will to make the mark. I don't know; that is a question of time.

Shelby M. Singleton

"Mr. Chairman, I wish to raise a point here in regard to the recent report of the Commission of Experts. That report discusses the relative merits of the various machines under four heads, the last of which is as follows: 'Are the machines equal to the work and requirements of the election conditions of Chicago?' The report says:

The fourth general requirement relates broadly to the adaptability of voting machines in general to the practical requirements of election conditions in Chicago, among which are the following:

1. Convenient form and weight for transporting.
2. Convenient design of keyboard and counter mechanism for simple, easy, rapid and positive voting.
3. Provision for prescribed and limited number of inspections of counters by the election judges before and after the hours of voting.
4. Proof against fraud by custodians, judges or voters.

"After setting forth these requirements as the cardinal tests of any machine, the experts, as a matter of fact, negative to a large degree the ability of the Empire machine to fulfill them. For instance, the report shows that the Empire machine is third on the list as to convenience of form and weight for transporting; two of the machines are lighter, and therefore easier to handle and transport.

"In regard to convenient design of keyboard and counter mechanism for

simple, easy, rapid and positive voting, the report says in part:

Because of the absence of the party lever, which in other machines operates each of the individual keys of that party, split voting with the Empire must be done by pulling down individually the keys which represent the candidates to be voted for, and this on a 70-key board will scarcely be done within the one minute's time permitted to each voter in the voting booth.

"In regard to the third test the report says in part:

As in the case of the Triumph, the Empire has no provision to restrict the number of inspections or the number of times which the judges of election may have access to the counters.

"In regard to the fourth test stated, viz., that the machine should be proof against fraud by custodians, judges or voters, the report sets forth that the Empire machine leaves that point unguarded to a certain extent since there is a possibility of the 'wrong setting of counters'; and the report sets forth further that the danger of 'fraud by custodian' is not wholly obviated since fraud is possible in the use of the Empire machine by disconnecting the actuating mechanism from one or more of the keys.

"The report does not touch on the question of whether the machine has been tested in regard to its adaptability for primaries. I would like to ask Dr. Taylor whether these points have been fully considered by the Election Board; whether in view of these points the Board feels that it is justified in spending a million dollars at this time in one lump or whether it would not be better to spend a smaller amount in an experimental way." (Applause.)

George E. Hooker

"I would like to present a letter which I have received on this subject, if I may. Yesterday afternoon I attempted to get information from the two largest cities that I think are using voting machines. I wired an ex-mayor of Buffalo whom I had once met, but found that he was out of the country. I also called up on the telephone the Milwaukee Bureau of Economy and Efficiency and made some inquiries which are answered in the following letter from Mr. John E. Treleven of that Bureau:

July 17, 1911.

After our conversation over the long-dis-

tance phone this afternoon I went to the City Clerk's office, the Comptroller's office, to the Department of Public Works, to the office of the Custodian of Voting Machines, and to the Mayor's office, in an endeavor to secure the information which you desire regarding the use of voting machines in Milwaukee.

In the short time at my disposal I was unable to secure anything more than the most general facts and opinions regarding their use. I trust what little information I have may be of value to you and reach you in time for your talk.

The voting machines in use in this city are made by the consolidated Empire and United States Standard Voting Machine Companies. The name of the consolidated company I do not know. The machines have been approved by the State Voting Machine Commission.

The first machines were purchased in 1903, when one hundred machines at \$500 each, f. o. b. Jamestown, N. Y., were purchased. Since that time other machines have been added until the city has at present 133 machines. These machines are bought on contract by which a certain percentage of the price falls due each year, and interest is paid on the balance due. Since the consolidation the price of the improved machines has been \$600.

In this city there is one machine for about seven hundred registered voters and for about five hundred votes cast in elections. The machines are used at all elections, excepting that printed ballots are supplied to women voters in school elections.

These machines are found easy to regulate. Four ordinary mechanics are placed around town on election days to repair any machines that may become out of order. The machines are all stored in a central building.

One of the chief disadvantages of the machines is that it is quite a task to distribute them among the election precincts. No difficulty is experienced in using the machines, even in the most complicated elections. They are found convenient to use and rapid in operation. In one ward, a Polish district, 112 voters voted during the first hour on the day when the machines were first installed. One minute is found to be the average time required for voting, although some voters will take as long as three minutes when there is no rush.

When more than 450 voters use one machine in a day there are periods when the booth is crowded. As to whether or not the use of the machines promoted independent voting opinions differ. The deputy city clerk, who has charge of the elections, says that, in his opinion, the fact that the names of the candidates all appear before the voter at once leads to independent voting. The custodian of voting machines says that a large number of people vote the straight ticket. His honor the Mayor says that it is his opinion that the use of the machine does not affect party voting at all. Those who vote a party ticket will do so whether the voting be by ballot or by machine. He says further that he believes the use of voting machines has proved them practical in this city, and that he does not

think there is the slightest desire to return to the old style of ballot.

The machines have been used during the administrations of three different political parties. All have found them satisfactory. The County of Milwaukee is installing the machines in precincts outside of the city.

If this letter does not give you the sort of information you desire, you may call me up on the long-distance phone on Tuesday morning and I shall be glad to give you any further information I may have at hand.

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) JOHN E. TRELEVEN.

A Special Proposition for Chicago

"Mr. Chairman, the testimony in favor of voting machines in general and as to the satisfactoriness of the machines that are now being used seems to be clear. The proposition here, however, is obviously somewhat special. Dr. Taylor has referred to the inuendoes that are going about. Of course, we have heard them. I do not presume to say that there is any occasion for them. There does, however, seem to be ground for proceeding in a more tentative manner in this proposition. Such a course would dispose of the inuendoes and it would also dispose of certain possibilities of mistake in the selection of the machines. This machine, as has already been pointed out, has not been produced as yet, and the Chicago demands are peculiar.

"Mr. Sikes has referred to another proposition which seems to me almost more important in this connection than the merits of the machine itself. We are undoubtedly, at the present time, face to face with a change in the whole method of elections. The short ballot proposition is one that is sweeping the country. The commission form of government which is spreading rapidly is simply an expression of that movement. When we will secure the short ballot in Chicago nobody knows, but if we invest in a machine which is calculated to fit our absolutely absurd, and, so far as intelligent voting goes, impossible ballot of today, we shall then have a set of junk on our hands for which we will have no use and which will have cost us a large sum of money. It will also, just as any other investment, which has to do with a particular process, limits the possibilities of a change, tie us to this absurdly long ballot which we have today. Under the circumstances, it

seems to me that there are grave reasons for proceeding in a more tentative manner in respect to this question." (Applause.)

W. L. Abbott

"Mr. Chairman: I happened to be one of the members of the Commission of Experts, which reported on the voting machines, and regarding the inuendoes of fraud in this case, I am prepared to say that the only fraud which came to my attention was that which was perpetrated on the Expert Commission when it was given to understand that its report would be kept secret.

"With the understanding that the report was not to be made public, the Experts gave the County Judge and the Election Commissioners a statement of what in the opinion of the Experts a voting machine should be, and then after frankly discussing the merits and defects of the machines examined, stated its opinion of their relative values for use in Chicago.

"It appears that the Board of Election Commissioners, after considering the report, arrived at the same conclusion which the Board of Experts did, and it appears that the former board of experts also placed at the head of the list of voting machines the same machine that the present board recommended.

"Whether or not our report would have been any different had we known that it was to be made public I cannot say. It is probable that while the conclusions would have been the same, the language might have been so modified as to do the least amount of injury to the unsuccessful bidders." (Applause.)

Dr. Taylor

"I wish to say, Mr. Chairman, with reference to several of the objections offered here today, that one of the stipulations in the contract will be that the machine sold to the City of Chicago must in every respect comply with the election laws of the state of Illinois. Cumulative voting, restricted voting, primary voting, straight party voting, split voting, every kind of voting known to the laws of Illinois, will be provided for or there will be no contract.

"First of all, we provide that the Empire Company must produce a machine with a nine-party column and seventy

names for candidates, must exhibit it to us and to the Board of Experts for inspection as to whether it complies in every respect with the specifications. Until that is done, there will be no contract. I am told that that machine, as it is to be used here, is now prepared. The company has been working on it for months and it will soon be ready for exhibition.

"Mr. Czarnecki raised some of the traditional objections to the use of the machines. He simply quoted them from the report of the experts, as to weight and so forth. Well, I wish the machines were lighter, but, gentlemen, these telegrams that I read to you came from cities where they have both heavier machines and lighter; the Indianapolis machines weigh 1,400 pounds; Milwaukee machines weigh 750 pounds. They have no difficulty at all in hauling their machines out, distributing them, collecting them, and have never had a single machine injured or disabled in nine years.

"This machine when completed will weigh 904 pounds. The fact that the smaller machine which is on exhibition here was brought up to the fourth story of this building, ought to be an assurance to you that while the weight is an unpleasant feature, it is not insuperable. It seems to me a common sense proposition, that with so many keys providing for so many different parties and individuals, there is no metal in existence that will make a much lighter machine.

"I want to anticipate, too, the argument about the short ballot. I want to say for myself that I, too, am a prophet. I believe the people of Illinois will never adopt the short ballot principle until we get the initiative, referendum and recall. You cannot go forward into the future and anticipate clearly what the people are going to do about the short ballot. But if you should have a smaller ballot, that simply means that you will have to use your same machine, omitting the names of some of the candidates. The machine is just as effective for a small ticket as for a big ticket.

Where the Machine Has Been Tried

"Here let me give you an explanation as to the production of this Empire machine. The Empire machine, that is to say, the seventy-name, nine-party ma-

chine, was constructed especially at the suggestion of our Board of Election Commissioners for the city of Chicago; it may be called a Chicago machine. The suggestion was made today, that we ought to start off by buying 100 machines for trial. I wish to deal with that matter respectfully as a proper objection. My answer is this: The trying out has been done for thirteen years all over the United States. We have had the machines tried out in Chicago in four different elections, in 1903, 1905, 1907, and 1911. In one election they were tried in thirty-seven precincts, in the last election in sixteen precincts. So far as I have heard, and I think I can speak from authority, they have met with universal approval wherever used. One of them was put in my precinct, the third precinct of the thirty-second ward, and I think I am within bounds when I say that every man that went to the polls was delighted with the experiment.

"Why not buy simply 100 then and proceed cautiously with that number. Because if we buy 100 and only 100, without engaging any more, we will land where the old Boards have landed, that is to say, after buying 100 machines, we will be under honorable and practical obligation to open the field for bidding again, again to draw the specifications to advertise, have tests and infinite delay. We have been ten years now in the offing. I say it is time to do something. We have a machine here that is practically the same as the machines that are being used all over the United States, an extension and an improvement of the standard machine that has been tried everywhere. The board went at this matter deliberately.

"You remember that after the report of the grand jury, from which I read this afternoon and at the approach of the election last fall, there was great anxiety. The County Judge applied to the City Council for a special appropriation to prevent frauds which we were informed would be perpetrated. A corps of special investigators were employed to prevent them—an extraordinary procedure. Instead of having the judges and clerks of election sworn in by some inferior official in the election commissioner's office, they were brought

down into the County Judge's chambers and were solemnly charged under penalty of felony to do their duty. Even then we had trouble.

"As a matter of fact, your Board began its deliberation on this problem very early in February. The first draft of the specifications was written out and shortly afterwards revised and published and bids were solicited. Brother Czarnecki was with us then for the purchase not of a thousand but of twelve hundred machines. We advertised for that number. I have no doubt that Mr. Czarnecki is perfectly honest in his objections. I only say that it is an illustration of the fact that wise men sometimes change their minds.

"Under this contract the company must produce for inspection a specially equipped machine with nine columns and place for seventy names to the column. It must pass inspection and must have the approval of the State Board of Voting Machine Commissioners before the contract becomes valid and binding.

Financing the Purchase

"The machines will be paid for in installments. I do not know the *modus operandi*. Some of the newspapers, as appears by the clippings that I read to you, scolded the City Council because under certain circumstances they failed to make an appropriation. They may do so again. I believe, gentlemen, that the expressed will of the people of Chicago has been set at naught now for seven years. I think it is time, full time, that the city should proceed with the purchase and installation of voting machines. The terms under which we propose to do it are, I think, entirely reasonable. The period of installation and of the purchase and payment will be extended over about two years and eight months. It seems to me that this is not a rash proceeding and is fully warranted by all the circumstances.

"I am ready to answer any questions about the contract. In the meantime, here is Mr. Keifer, who has come here with this machine, and who will answer any questions you gentlemen may wish to ask him about its practical operation. There has been some talk about the failure to have a public exhibition of the machine. As a matter of fact, public exhibitions have never amounted to any-

thing. The citizens of Chicago have never attended. The best exhibition we have ever had of voting machines was where they were actually installed and voted on."

PROF. E. W. BEMIS: "I would like to ask Dr. Taylor if he has looked into the situation in Cleveland. I know when I was there over two years ago there was some dissatisfaction with the voting machine that had been tried in some of the precincts. Just what the trouble was I do not recall nor do I know what the outcome has been."

DR. TAYLOR: "Yes, I know all about it. Somewhere I have a copy of the report that was made on the Cleveland situation. I could not go into it because it is trivial and because there were other things that I conceived to be more important. There is also the report from the Secretary of State of New Jersey commending the machines and saying with the largest emphasis possible that the whole state should be supplied with machines as soon as possible.

"The Cleveland trouble was that there was a drop of several hundred names on propositions as against those on candidates; there were some 1,300 votes short. That was in the celebrated Tom Johnson contest over the traction situation, and naturally a great deal of fuss was made. The accusation was made that there was some fraud in the machine, but that question was never carried into court and no contest was ever made. As a matter of fact, here in Chicago, when we have a proposition on our ballot, many people fail to vote it at all, do not give it any attention. The discrepancy is easily explainable upon other hypotheses than that of fraud.

"Let me, in closing, gentlemen, again call your attention to the testimony in these telegrams that I have read to you on the use of the Standard and Dean machine—which are simply the Empire machine in embryo. That testimony is to the effect that the machines are accurate and that they prevent fraud, and it is the experience, not of a year or of a single season, but of from ten to thirteen years." (Applause.)

Note: On July 21 the Board of Election Commissioners, Mr. Czarnecki dissenting, formally awarded the contract for 1,000 voting machines to the Empire Voting Machine Company at a total cost of \$942,500.

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POLITICS AND THE PARKS

Under the new civil service law for Chicago parks, the West Chicago Park Commissioners on August 1st appointed Mr. George A. Mugler to the position of Superintendent of Employment. Mr. Mugler is Secretary of the West Park Board and member of the Cook County Republican Committee from the Fifteenth Ward. The Lincoln Park Commissioners had previously appointed to the like position Mr. John C. Cannon. Mr. Cannon was formerly chief clerk of the Board of Election Commissioners and is Republican County Committeeman from the Twenty-sixth Ward. These appointments not only provoked press criticism but caused serious apprehension among the proponents and friends of the law.

In order that the members of the City Club might be fully informed of the special provisions and intent of this law, and of the manner in which it is being put into effect, Mr. Robert Catherwood, who was especially active in framing the law, and Mr. Herbert E. Fleming, who worked at Springfield for its adoption, were invited to address the Club on this subject at luncheon on Tuesday, the 8th instant. Governor Deneen and the three Park Commissions of the city were invited. Governor Deneen sent a letter explaining his inability to be present.

Mr. F. I. Moulton, Chairman of the City Club Committee on Public Parks, Playgrounds and Baths, who presided, presented the following statement relative to the park systems of the city:

F. I. Moulton

"While Chicago does not stand at the top of the list of leading American cities in respect to park development, we have nevertheless in this city a park and boulevard system which is widely extended,

one whose acquisition and development have cost us a large amount of money and one which in its numerous and highly organized recreation centers places Chicago ahead of all other cities of the world in respect to playground development.

"This network of park and boulevard systems and of recreation centers is administered by three park commissions corresponding to the three geographical divisions of the city. Two of these, namely, the Lincoln Park Commission and the West Park Commission, are appointed by the Governor of the State, and the South Park Commission is appointed by the judges of the Circuit Court.

"The Lincoln Park System, exclusive of the 250-acre park extension into the lake which is now under development, includes an area of 350.65 acres and 9 1-3 miles of boulevards or parkways. The West Park system includes an area of 629.27 acres and 25 miles of parkways. The South Park system includes an area of 2023.79 acres and 28 miles of parkways. Taken together these systems comprise a park area of 3,004 acres and 62 miles of boulevards or parkways.

"I have no reliable estimate of the value of this park property as at present improved, but it has cost Chicago a very large amount of money and is worth a still larger amount. Even during the last eight years these three park commissions have raised on bond issues for park extension and improvements fifteen million dollars.

"Chicago is paying a large amount of money for the regular maintenance of these park properties and for principal and interest on the bonded indebtedness. During the year 1910 there was received

for this purpose from taxes and appropriations by the Lincoln Park Commission \$918,375.47; by the West Park Commission \$1,542,538.59; and by the South Park Commission \$2,175,204.60, or a total of \$4,636,118.

"I mention these facts to show that Chicago has been peculiarly liberal in the amounts appropriated for acquisition and development of parks and in the amount paid annually through taxation for the maintenance of its parks and the payment of the park indebtedness. The citizens take great pride in the parks of the city and are entitled to know that their administration shall be effective and economical and that the vast sums of money appropriated by them, both in the way of bond issues and in annual taxation, shall secure to them the greatest possible park area, the most efficient equipment and the best possible park development." (Applause.)

Mr. Catherwood was then introduced.

Robert Catherwood

"On the first day of July, 1911, an act to regulate the civil service of park districts having 150,000 or more resident inhabitants went into effect in the South Park, the West Park and the Lincoln Park Systems. The three parks spend from five and one-half to six million dollars annually and employ from 1,800 men in winter to 4,000 men in summer.

	Winter.	Summer.
Lincoln Park	400	900
West Park	578	1,033
South Park	800	2,000
Total	1,798	3,933

"The new law requires the park commissioners (who in the North and West Parks are appointed by the Governor and in the South Parks by the judges of the Circuit Court) to appoint in each district a superintendent of employment for a term of six years at a salary of \$3,000 a year, and two park commissioners for a term of two years at a salary not to exceed \$500 a year, the superintendent of employment and the two park commissioners to constitute a Civil Service Board. They have all the powers and duties of Civil Service Commissioners and some extraordinary powers peculiar to the new law. The Board

makes the rules, i. e., exercises the quasi-legislative functions necessary to an effective administrative system and it also hears charges against employees. All the other powers conferred by the act are exercised by the superintendent of employment who is supposed to be a high grade employment expert. To make the members of the Civil Service Board independent of political influence in the tenure of their respective offices and free to administer the act impartially, the law provides that they cannot be removed except for palpable incompetence or malfeasance in office upon written charges filed before the county judge and two circuit judges. These judges, sitting as a board of hearings, must give a public trial and an adverse decision before a member of the Civil Service Board can be ousted. Furthermore, the law makes it an offense for any member of the Civil Service Board, or any person in the park service, to sign or execute a resignation in advance of his appointment. The sharp practice of taking an appointee's resignation undated, prior to his appointment, is a pernicious custom for which there is precedent in the city and county Civil Service Commissions.

"Now, under the present civil service act, the people of this community have a right to demand these things of a superintendent of employment:

"1. That he shall make a record open to public inspection of each position in the park service, record its duties, and place it in its grade according to duties and not according to salary, so that men doing the same work shall have the same pay within fixed limits of pay prescribed for the grade, thus putting a stop to log rolling in Appropriation Committees and favoritism towards individual employees.

"2. That he shall make war upon useless places and 'easy money' men of all kinds, publicly report and point out the numerous sinecures which spoilsmen of the past and present have created, the ten men who do one man's work, the men who draw from \$1,500 to \$2,000 a year for an hour or two a week, the men whose wages bear no relation to the actual value of their services. The law is then mandatory upon the park commissioners to change the pay so reported

out of grade and upon the financial officer in charge of the pay roll to refuse payment in cases so reported.

"Experts have said that at least 15 per cent of the pay roll of the West Park could be cut out if there were an earnest effort made to govern it on a non-political business basis. That would mean \$120,000 a year. A searching investigation would doubtless bring to light other waste.

"3. That the superintendent of employment shall collect and record the salient and material facts about the service, its organization, the systems of transacting public business, the administrative methods, the lines of authority, supervision and fixed responsibility, the conditions of employment and the efficiency of individual employes and groups of employes. In short to make a careful and scientific study of the park government and to report findings and recommendations to the park commissioners.

"4. That vacancies in service be filled only by merit appointment after practical tests of qualifications to perform the duties of the position as distinguished from theoretical and unfair tests, that these tests be given wide publicity, that they be standardized and made free and competitive and absolutely honest. Every man should have an equal chance at public employment according to his ability.

"5. That complaints by citizens be investigated promptly and that discharge or other corrective measures, suggested by such investigations, be applied. The parks belong to the people and every citizen is entitled, among other things, to be free from petty graft, from unjust or oppressive exercise of authority and from discourtesy on the part of public servants.

"6. That charges against employes be fairly and publicly heard, so that efficient and law abiding employes while they perform their duties, shall not be jockeyed or turned out of the service. It is the purpose of this law to protect the employe from the injustice and civic demoralization of the spoils system, with its intermittent employment on one hand and political slavery on the other.

"7. That efficiency records, based

not upon the mere judgment of superiors but upon facts capable of verification, be made and kept in the regular course of business under rules of the Civil Service Board, subject to scrutiny, and that under proper restrictions they may be used as factors in promotion, discharge, lay-off and re-instatement.

"8. That slush-funds, political influence, assessments, pernicious political activity, the abuse of the power to make emergency and temporary appointments, the abuse of leave of absence and transfer, be stamped out and the protection of the law given alike to all employes from the administration expert down to the common laborer.

"Now, these are some of the things we ought to get, and we would get if the civil service law were enforced and properly applied. But no law is self operative. Especially does a law which deals with the very vitals of a living, growing and changing organism like government, with numerous employes and with millions of money, require intelligence and honest administration and a competent expert as superintendent of employment.

"And now let us examine the manner in which the law is being put into effect by the park authorities.

"In the West Park, in the closing days of June, there was some scurrying of ward bosses to get their men under the provisions of the blanket clause of the statute which took over the service as it existed July 1. Let me give one typical case:

"On June 30, the storekeeper of the West Park came to my office and said that his superior officer had discharged him. He had been in service ten years. In discharging him his superior officer said there was nothing against him but that Joseph F. Haas had been down to Springfield to see Governor Deneen and that orders had come through Commissioner Kolacek to discharge the storekeeper and put in a man from Mr. Haas' ward. Seven other discharged employes came likewise to my office, each with his story. Each man knew which ward boss had taken his job and it is fair to say that there was some definite rule of division of the patronage in the West Park in force in the month of June.

1911. Under the spoils system, challenged by such facts, persons have asked in surprise, Do you think that high class business men like some of the West Park Commissioners would tolerate such a system? I answer that some one should make a contribution to political literature on the stock ways by which greedy politicians use the reputations and standing of well intentioned business men as a cloak whereby deals which could not be made otherwise without public outcry are in fact 'put over' without a word. Of course, legally, the Governor and the park commissioners could divide and allot patronage and discharge men on June 30, but I sincerely trust that the time will come when such acts will lose more votes than they have gained.

"On August 1 the West Park Commissioners appointed George A. Mugler, Secretary of the West Park Board and Member of the Republican County Executive Committee, to be superintendent of employment. Mr. Mugler is a ward boss. His career has been that of a job broker. He is the Fifteenth ward member of the County Central Committee of the Republican party. For some years he has handled the patronage of the West Park under the discredited and extravagant spoils system. He is continued in his office of Secretary of the West Park Board, a sinecure which President B. A. Eckart, during the reform period in West Park Administration, refused to have filled. He now adds to that position the office of superintendent of employment at \$3,000 a year. Thus, in taking this position, he not only gets hold of a new job but renders himself a pluralist in jobs. He remains a ward boss, a county committeeman and Governor Deneen's representative.

"Mr. Mugler as superintendent of employment will be called upon to examine the efficiency of the work under Mr. Mugler the secretary, and to ascertain whether his position is a sinecure or not. Mr. Mugler will be called upon to eliminate politics and political influence from the parks whenever Mr. Mugler, the Fifteenth ward boss, Mr. Mugler, the county central committeeman, or Mr. Mugler, Governor Deneen's patronage

secretary, attempt to evade the law. The superintendent of employment at \$3,000 a year might very well investigate the question whether Mr. Mugler, the secretary, is worth \$4,800 a year to the tax payers of this community.

"Mr. Mugler is also an ex-alderman. The Municipal Voters' League in its preliminary report in 1897 said:

George A. Mugler—Picture frame dealer; resides 710 California avenue; elected 1895; supported General Electric, Central Electric, Union Loop, Trolley ordinances, North Chicago Electric; while West Chicago Street Railroad extension on California avenue and other streets was before the council, opposed amendments calling upon company to pave streets, voting against ordinance after assisting to make it suitable to company; is on record as opposed to compensation for Union Loop, Calumet Electric and Central Electric; opposed many amendments this year intended to secure compensation for franchises. His record is such as to justify his defeat.

"In its final report it said:

George A. Mugler—Republican candidate; lives 710 California avenue; picture frame dealer, elected to council 1895; voted for all questionable ordinances; record thoroughly bad; is Herttz's personal representative in ward and has support of the machine; should be defeated.

And he was defeated.

"The only good thing that I know about Mr. Mugler politically is that he supported Alderman Beilfuss for re-election.

"While the responsibility for Mr. Mugler's appointment falls technically upon the West Park Commissioners, it falls also upon Governor Deneen. Governor Deneen was an important factor in the passage of the park civil service act, but friends of the merit system had a right to expect more sincerity when it came to the test of administration in the West Parks.

"With Mr. Mugler's approval the West Park Commissioners have contracted with Arthur Young & Co. to install the civil service system in the West Park. Mr. Mugler has the candor to practically admit that he is not an employment expert, but he, of course, reserves the right to revise, suppress and change everything which Arthur Young & Co. may do.

"The Lincoln Park Board, in advance of appointment, made a contract with a competent expert to install the civil service system. The subsequent ap-

pointment of John C. Cannon was forced upon the commissioners by Mr. "Jim" Pease, through a conference with the Governor and with the approval of ex-Mayor Busse. Mr. Cannon resides in Mr. Pease's district where he is Republican committeeman for the Twenty-sixth ward. He was chief clerk of the Election Commission until the Democrats came into power last November. He, too, is an ex-alderman. Of him the Municipal Voters' League said in its preliminary report:

John C. Cannon—Clerk; lives 547 Berenice avenue; elected to council in 1897; voted for Commonwealth Electric ordinance; opposed appointment of special committee on compensation; though republican voted in favor of John Powers' committees and favored street railways in their fight for fifty-year franchises until the last vote, falling in line after the victory was won; voted right on motion to proceed with 17th ward contest and for thirty days' notice of franchise measures. Should be defeated.

"And in the final report:

John C. Cannon—Republican candidate; lives 547 Berenice avenue; in employ of Western Electric Company; born in Chicago; lived here continuously since; owns small amount of property; has been active in politics; tried to get legislative nomination last fall and was defeated; personal standing good; pledged to civil service law and compensation for franchises.

"It is urged that while Mr. Cannon is drawn from the ranks of the chronic office holders and ward bosses, he has a personal reputation which gives some hope that he may cut loose from his past and attempt to do the right thing.

"The South Park Commission has not yet complied with the mandatory provisions of the law to organize their civil service board within thirty days after July 1. The Commissioners are under considerable pressure from Democratic politicians to make a political appointment though they have before them the names of six experts with no political backing.

"All this means that certain political bosses of this county no sooner bow to a great wave of public opinion and grant legislation, than they seek with the other hand to retract it. An obvious way to accomplish this result is to seek an instrument to evade, discredit and undermine the civil service system and to appoint him superintendent of employment

or civil service commissioner; then speak the people fair and assure them that critics are not sober-minded men. That scheme can be worked successfully for a long time if the public is apathetic.

"What can we do about it? Take the facts straight to the people and ask them, if they are in earnest about this matter, as they are, to vow that no man who uses the public service for the enrichment of himself and his friends, or in the construction of a political machine in defiance of the law, shall really gain votes by such 'politics.' One prime requisite for the enforcement of all civil laws is the election of a state's attorney who will bring prosecutions under them, regardless of the possible effect of such moves upon his appropriations or upon his political future. We need a real state's attorney and not a candidate for governor in that office.

"In a recent address the City Club of New York, Ambassador Bryce said that 'in so far as he could diagnose the difficulties in American municipalities he would put forward as a most frequent evil the insufficient distinction between that which belongs to politics and that which belongs to business.'

"In the great parks of this city we have a statute which makes precisely that distinction. Now, the question is: Can we get it enforced." (Applause.)

Herbert E. Fleming

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: In offering an outline history of the enactment of the Parks Civil Service Act, a few facts on the politics of the parks situation and some practical suggestions as to what citizens may do to get real results out of the merit and efficiency laws, I shall try to be brief.

"Now, I take it that you invited us here to call a spade a spade. Perhaps it is particularly appropriate to call a spade a spade in reference to what is going on in the parks. In any event, going right down the line, calling things political by their right names, is the policy of the Executive Committees and officers of the Chicago and Illinois Civil Service Reform Associations, which I had the honor of representing as 'lobbyist,' at Springfield last winter. We tried to hew to the line, letting chips fly where

they would. We tried to be, and are trying to be, not merely non-partisan. We tried to be, and are trying to be, also non-factional. Throughout the past year's campaign for comprehensive and adequate civil service legislation, we tried to treat all political leaders and bosses and all factions alike. Incidentally that is one reason why legislators of all the factions, including some in the Lorimer faction, voted for the State, Cook County, Municipal Court and Chicago Parks Civil Service bills, which were passed despite formidable opposition in the lobbying field by Secretary of State Rose, in the Senate by Mr. Potter and in the House by Messrs. Chipfield and Browne. Today, speaking out in meeting about the parks' civil service situation may lead one faction to charge us with pulling chestnuts out of the fire for a rival faction. But such a charge would not be fair. The fact that discussion of this situation may be used to the political advantage of one or another group in party politics ought not to deter us as non-partisans and non-factionalists from plain speaking.

"Main points in the history of the new civil service law for the parks may interest you. They may serve to show you what the advocates of the merit system had a right to expect from Governor Deneen and his friends and also what we may expect from the controlling members of the South Park Commission and their friends in connection with putting the new law in operation.

"The Parks Civil Service bill was one of a series of five which we had introduced with a view to following the state-wide popular advisory vote of last November for comprehensive and adequate civil service legislation. Moreover it was one of those designed to aid a majority of the members of the legislature to fulfill their pledges not only as to the state service, but also for comprehensive merit system acts for the public service in Cook County. At first our bill-drafting committee had endeavored to frame a bill for a single metropolitan civil service commission to serve as a central employment agency, at least for the parks, the sanitary district, and the county government. But the absence of con-

solidation of our local governments raised insurmountable obstacles, so a series of bills was drafted.

"The parks bill as originally introduced provided that the City Civil Service Commission should serve the three park boards, North, West and South. This would have been a step toward consolidation such as is provided in Chicago's much needed new Charter. In this original form the bill passed the House early in April. It must be confessed freely that it had not been much debated by the House. Under the leadership of Representative Hull, the House had put in four days on civil service and was tired of the subject by the time the Parks bill was reached. It simply sailed through in the wake of the State, Cook County and Municipal Court bills.

"Right here it might be well to anticipate any question you may have as to Governor Deneen's part in the progress of the civil service legislation. He had played an important part in putting a strong civil service plank in the State Republican platform. In his biennial message he had recommended the enactment of comprehensive civil service laws both for the State and for Cook County. His friends in the House, both the independent ones and those disposed to take hints or orders as Deneen-organization men, in the main voted and worked for the civil service bills. On the other hand some of the Lorimer men said they were not going to let the Deneen faction 'make the Lorimer fellows the goats' for defeat of civil service legislation and so had not opposed it as aggressively as in the past. The fact remains that Mr. Deneen deserves much credit for passage of the civil service legislation in both House and Senate.

"When the civil service bills got to the Senate, their progress dragged somewhat, in part on account of press of other matters. Here again the element co-operating with Governor Deneen, both the independent progressives and his organization following, were for the bills. Senator Magill, Chairman of the Civil Service Committee, an independent progressive, quoted Governor Deneen as stating he wanted to see the Senate pass

the civil service bills, including the parks bill.

"When the parks bill came up before the Senate Civil Service Committee, Mr. Robert Redfield, attorney for the South Park Commissioners, appeared in opposition to it. Mr. Redfield, who incidentally is the member of the Democratic State Central Committee from the First Congressional District, embracing the First, Second and Third wards, also a leader of the Third Ward Harrison organization, was aided before the committee by Mr. William H. Sexton, then of Tolman, Redfield & Sexton, now corporation counsel for the City of Chicago. Mr. Sexton called the Senate Committee's attention to the Foreman ordinance for a civil service system in the South Parks, which had been pending before the South Park Commissioners for some time. Thereupon we called the Committee's attention to the attitude of Judge John Barton Payne, the president of the South Park Board, as disclosed in a letter sent by him in December last, before he became president, to his fellow commissioners for their consideration at a meeting when this Foreman civil service ordinance was up.

"In that letter Judge Payne said he was opposed to the passage of a civil service ordinance for the South Parks, partly on the score that to enact such an ordinance would be to admit that the spoils system had secured a foothold in the parks, whereas in his opinion it had not. Mr. Redfield thereafter centered his fire on the provision of the House bill for the several park boards to have the City Civil Service Commission take on the duty of serving them as a Civil Service Commission. Mr. Redfield assailed this as an invasion of home rule for the park districts, and also raised in the minds of the Committee imaginary doubts as to its constitutionality. The Senate Committee finally took the position that while it favored a civil service law for the parks, it would approve only of a bill for a separate civil service body for each of the park boards. A subcommittee headed by Senator Walter C. Jones was named to look into the legal points.

"Mr. Redfield thereupon prepared a draft of a bill which provided for com-

petitive examination for entrance to the park service, but which lacked most of the up-to-date efficiency provisions which had been worked out in the State and County bills, and also lacked the provision assuring an employe the right to be heard before discharge.

"Meanwhile the situation had been presented to leaders of our Association and our Committee had drafted a new bill providing for a superintendent of employment to be a civil service expert in active charge of civil service administration for each park district.

"When Mr. Redfield gave his bill to Senator Magill he said substantially: 'If you must have civil service for the parks, give us this.' Our new bill also was given to Senator Magill. We said we should fight for it to the end. For a time, while attention was being given to Senate passage of the State, County and Municipal Court civil service bills, it looked as though the parks bill was dead. But in the last week of the session, Senator Jones brought it to life. In response to our request he took the bill drawn by our committee, added to it provisions whose value he had learned as chairman of a special committee on investigation of the old Cook County civil service law, and had it reported out. Then Senator Magill, assisted by Senator Glackin, Democrat, got it advanced to third reading; and finally on the afternoon of the last day of the session, through the intervention of Representative David E. Shanahan and others, Lieutenant-Governor Oglesby consented to let the bill come up and it passed the Senate in the form of amendments to the original House bill. House members objected to one minor provision in the Senate amendments and threw the bill to conference; there was some lively scurrying late that afternoon and evening, with the final result that shortly before midnight of the closing session, May 19, the conference report—the bill in its present form—was passed by both houses.

"This parks bill was subsequently approved by Governor Deneen. The president of the West Park Board, Mr. William Kolacek in his report in the preceding January had recommended the drafting of an ordinance 'placing the em-

ployes of the entire West Park system under the rules and regulations of a comprehensive and honestly administered civil service law.' Governor Deneen, on June 2, sent to the Civil Service banquet at the Hotel La Salle, a telegram in which he said in part:

The passage of comprehensive civil service acts regulating the civil service of the State, Cook County, and Parks of Chicago, marks a notable advance in the application of civil service principles to the conduct of government.

"The Governor did not overlook the parks.

"The Chairman has given you a composite picture of the three Chicago park systems. Let us sharpen the picture somewhat. In extent they comprise about 4,000 acres. That figure at once suggests the larger parks—Jackson, Washington, Douglas, Garfield and Lincoln—with their wide fields, walks and roadways, shrubs, trees, gardens, golf, tennis, and baseball grounds. But it does not call up the newer feature of the systems—the score of small parks with their field houses, having not only indoor and out-door gymnasiums for old and young, but also assembly rooms and club rooms which serve as neighborhood or social centers for recreative gatherings, under the leadership of field-house directors.

"Except for details on the characteristics required of these park-center workers, and for figures on the police forces, the last published annual reports of the three park boards give little direct information about their employees. The reports show that the combined police forces of the three park systems number 263 officers and men. They show that the combined total of all employees ranges from 1,798 in winter to 3,933 in summer. Reading the reports of the work done by the park boards indicates that they have in addition to policemen and playground directors and attendants the following classes of employees: Nurserymen, gardeners, boatmen, lunch-room managers, waiters and waitresses, engineers, surveyors, mechanics, electricians, carpenters, painters, skilled labor for paving work, street-cleaners, and various others. Now, division of labor in a large organization requires standardization of employment accord-

ing to duties, if modern ideas of efficiency engineering are to be applied. Such a business-like handling of the public employment problem is afforded by the up-to-date civil service laws. The Governor certainly was right in wiring his congratulations to the friends of civil service legislation on the passage of the bill, among others, for the merit and efficiency system in the parks.

"Did we not have a right to expect that Governor Deneen would exert his leadership with his West Park Commissioners to secure the appointment of a superintendent of employment free from the taint of spoils politics, a man qualified to inspire confidence that the law would be administered sympathetically and not evasively? Were we not justified in expecting that he would have appointed as park civil service administrators men who would stand up under the pressure of job-seeking politicians in the commendable way in which Mr. William B. Moulton, president, and Mr. Joseph C. Mason, secretary, of the State Civil Service Commission, have stood in administering the old state law for the charities service and are standing today in enforcing the new and more extensive state law? We certainly were.

"There is no use quibbling and saying that the park commissioners are the ones to blame for Mr. Mugler's appointment. The Governor, and justly, takes credit for whatever they do that is commendable. The frontispiece here of the last annual report of the West Park Commissioners is a photograph of Governor Deneen. Mr. Kolacek, the president of the West Park Board, informed me that the Governor was consulted before Mr. Mugler was appointed superintendent of employment.

"There is no use quibbling along the line that innocent by-standers must wait and judge Mr. Mugler as superintendent of employment by the record he makes. Even if Mr. Mugler were to resign from his political position as Fifteenth Ward Committeeman, he could not free himself from the suspicion of politics in his administration of the parks civil service law. He is too conspicuously a spoils job distributor.

"The park commissioners say in defense of their appointment of Mr. Mug-

ler as superintendent of employment that he will continue to draw merely his salary of \$4,800 a year as secretary of the Board, and that thus they will save the taxpayers the \$3,000 a year to which a separate superintendent of employment would be entitled. And they will be likely to lose the economies that come from bona fide selection of employees on merit.

"As a matter of fact, this is a weak excuse for giving more power to the Mugler elbow. For the last two years the general superintendent of the West Parks has had practically nothing to do with selection and dismissal of employes. That has been handled by Mr. Mugler, on a patronage basis. The record of warrants issued shows a large one each month to George A. Mugler, paymaster. So he is superintendent of employment, secretary and paymaster. Do you remember the opera 'The Mikado,' and the character 'Pooh-Bah,' on whom all manner of work is thrust? The West Park authorities seem bent on letting Mr. Mugler be their 'Pooh-Bah.'

"We are informed that when Mr. Mugler was appointed it was with an informal understanding that he should resign in case the arrangement proved unsatisfactory. I venture to volunteer the free advice that he resign before he begins as superintendent of employment, and that the Board appoint an independent expert on civil service business.

"As to Mr. Cannon, in the Lincoln Park situation, I believe, in view of his reputation as chief clerk of the election board, that if he should resign as ward committeeman of the Twenty-sixth ward, and go in for a career as a civil service administrator, he could make a success of it. But a necessary preliminary is to drop out of ward politics. He should apply to himself the same strong rule against political activity that has been adopted as to state civil service employes, from lowest to highest, by the State Civil Service Commission and approved by the Governor.

"Turning to the South Park situation we have not had much ground for expecting a non-political appointment to the position of superintendent of employment. One reason for this was the aggressive opposition to the parks bill

at Springfield by the attorney for the South Park Board. Another was the information that has come to us about patronage in the South Parks. We should know more of this if the Civil Service Reform Association were equipped with a force of investigators sufficient to keep close watch of the numerous fields of public employment. However, we are reliably informed that while South Park positions have not been distributed on the ward basis, there has been a considerable use of 'jobs' in that service as patronage in personal politics. Moreover, both within and without the park service, there is considerable pressure on the park commissioners to take the back track as to the new social-center work of the field houses and small parks on the score that it is 'socialistic.' There is a fundamental rivalry between those favoring and those opposing this new work to secure a superintendent of employment in sympathy with their views.

"Finally the character of most of those mentioned as possible appointees has not been encouraging. The law does not expressly forbid the appointment of a spoils politician to be superintendent of employment in charge of civil service work in the parks. But it contemplates a non-political appointment. The cold fact is that there is now danger of the appointment of a politician to this position. Among others who have been mentioned are: George Shanahan, auditor or collector of refectory cash in the South Park service, brother of Representative Shanahan; W. J. Graham, extra clerk in the County Clerk's office, a Third Ward Democratic politician backed by Roger C. Sullivan; Frank Gault, ex-County Clerk, of whom Mr. Singleton could tell you pertinent facts; 'Joe' Swift, a stockyards saloon-keeper and Twenty-ninth Ward Democratic committeeman; also Edward J. Cummings, one of 'Carey's Indians,' who was smuggled into the county service as chief civil service examiner via the temporary appointment route under the old county law. In this connection a factor is the great pressure of party organizations for jobs to strengthen their lines for next year's battles. This is called a

democratic year, and the majority of the South Park Board is democratic.

"It is not enough for us to fire an alarm gun and be content to listen to the detonation. But what can the busy citizen do? One thing, often effective, is to write letters expressing his views to those in official power, and to the editor of his favorite newspaper. This is a democracy. It is thoroughly democratic and not disrespectful to our rulers to recommend that you write letters to the South Park Commissioners, and to the Circuit Judges who appointed them, recommending the selection of a high class civil service expert, in sympathy with the merit and efficiency system for superintendent of employment.

"In conclusion, let me give a word of encouragement. Roughly the getting of good and efficient government is a problem of 50 per cent personnel and 50 per cent system under law. Employment in any of the parks systems even with a Mugler as superintendent of civil service affairs is more likely to be efficient, economical and just to the employees under this parks civil service law than it was without it. For there is the law. It definitely describes ways to be followed in employment matters. It may be evaded in some particulars, but it cannot be violated extensively, without risk to the violator.

"The parks civil service law in one provision as to its enforcement is a great improvement over all the others. They leave prosecution of violators exclusively to the discretion of the state's attorney or the attorney-general. Nearly every violation of a civil service law has a political motive. State's attorneys and attorneys-general hesitate to act in such cases for fear they will be charged with playing politics. Section 33 of the park civil service law provides that the Court

may appoint a special attorney to prosecute. It says:

Sec. 33. COURT MAY APPOINT SPECIAL ATTORNEY TO PROSECUTE. Whenever the Attorney-General or the State's Attorney for the county in which an offense under this Act is alleged to have been committed shall refuse to prosecute the person or persons alleged to have committed such an offense, or shall fail to prosecute such person or persons after the lapse of thirty days from the date the alleged offense is brought to his attention, then any taxpayer may apply to any judge of the circuit court of such county for the appointment of a special attorney to conduct a prosecution of such person or persons and upon such application the court may appoint some competent attorney to prosecute the person or persons alleged to have committed the offense and the special attorney so appointed shall have the same power and authority in relation to any prosecution for violation of this Act against such person or persons at the Attorney-General or the State's Attorney would have had in prosecuting any violation of this Act, and such special attorney shall conduct and control such prosecution unless he request the aid of other prosecuting officers.

"The civil service law will prevail. Jobs will be taken out of politics. Conservatives and radicals unite in this. The civil service law is not a panacea, but it cuts across all of public affairs. The merit and efficiency system does more than provide for filling jobs on merit. It helps pave the way to the settling of issues in legislation on their merits. Civil service is an old-fashioned reform with many new-fashioned developments brought by time and evolution. It is a mighty human proposition. It is one that members of the City Club and public spirited citizens generally can well afford to back alertly. Let the politicians see that as civil service legislation was inevitable, so obedience to the letter and spirit of civil service laws is inevitable for him who wants to survive in politics in this community." (Applause.)

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THE WORK AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE CHICAGO COMMISSION ON CITY EXPENDITURES

On Friday, June 30, 1911, Professor Charles E. Merriam addressed the City Club on the work and accomplishments of the Chicago Commission on City Expenditures, commonly styled the "Merriam Commission," of which he was chairman. His address may be premised by a brief summary of the inquiries and recommendations of that body, and the results attained.

The Commission was appointed August 19, 1909, to conduct a comprehensive inquiry into the expenditures of the City of Chicago. In April, 1911, after a year and a half of active investigation, it automatically dissolved as a result of the change in the city administration. Its work constituted the first attempt which has been made toward a broad, systematic survey of the efficiency of city business in Chicago, and a review of that work is deemed timely and important.

The Commission presented to the City Council twenty special reports—the first sixteen of which have been published, and the last four of which will soon be published—setting out its findings and recommendations. These reports made specific criticisms of the form of the city budget, of methods of drawing and enforcing contracts and of purchasing supplies, of inadequate or faulty inspection work in some departments, of inefficient labor service—notably in the Bureau of Sewers—of certain defective accounting methods, of wasteful duplications of effort and of lax administrative methods in general. The endeavor was made to fix responsibility for these conditions wherever possible, and the resignations of two high officials, namely, John J.

Hanberg, Commissioner of Public Works, and Paul Redieske, Deputy Commissioner of Public Works, and the discharge of three other officials, namely, W. E. Quinn, Superintendent of Sewers; Ralph A. Bonnell, Assistant City Engineer, and E. R. LeGere, Superintendent of City Dumps, occurred following investigation by the Commission of their branches of the city service.

The information gathered by the Commission was placed in the hands of the State's Attorney or laid before the grand jury. Sixteen indictments were returned as a result of the investigations of the Commission. Those indicted in the so-called "shale rock" case were Redieske and Bonnell, M. H. McGovern, the contractor charged with responsibility for the alleged fraud, and the City Engineer. In the case of the alleged skimping of "Section N" of the Lawrence Avenue sewer, in addition to Redieske, Bonnell and McGovern, three officers and employes of the McGovern company—namely, Otto Niehoff, auditor, Max Landguth, superintendent, and George Moore, foreman—and four minor employes of the city—namely, J. C. Parks, rodman; Richard Burke, Joseph Maher and John McNichols, inspectors—were indicted. In the coal cases, Mr. J. P. Connery of the Miami Coal Company and Mr. M. H. Rogers of the M. H. Rogers Coal Company were held for trial. The defendants in the "shale rock" case were tried and acquitted, partly on technical grounds and partly on the ground of insufficient evidence. The other cases have not yet been brought to trial.

Recommendations

The sixteen printed reports of the Commission contain 174 distinct recommendations*:

Forty-one for changes in the form and content of contracts and in the method of drawing and awarding them;

Twenty-three for the introduction or better conduct of tests, inspection or other checking devices;

Twenty-three for administrative reorganization, including changes in administrative authority, changes in the powers and duties of officers and employes, the elimination of unfit or useless employes from the service, the creation in certain cases of new positions, and the increase in certain other cases of the working force;

Nine for the introduction or improvement of methods of audit and account;

Seven for improved procedure in the issue of certificates, permits and licenses;

Five for economies in the House of Correction and the Police Department, and in the cost of street repairs;

Five for changes in the method of preparing the annual city budget;

Four for changes in the character and use of official publications or statistical data;

Four for the extension of civil service to certain positions or the introduction of "efficiency" methods in dealing with the employes of the city;

Four for remedy or recovery because of faulty construction work or unfulfilled contracts;

Four for changes in the collection of fees or of other compensation to the city;

Three for the elimination of political influence from the service;

Twenty-eight for particular technical methods with reference to paving, and to the construction of the Southwest Lake and Land Tunnel; and

Fourteen for various miscellaneous purposes.

Accomplishments

It was the intention of the Commission to make an investigation to discover the extent to which its recommendations

*The four unprinted reports were not available for analysis. They contain a large number of additional recommendations.

had been adopted by the various municipal authorities, but the dissolution of the Commission prevented such an investigation. A number of specific improvements, however, are known to have taken place, namely:

The adoption in 1910, and again in 1911, of the so-called "segregated budget" system, and the corresponding modification of accounting methods to permit proper administrative control of the expenditures authorized thereunder;

The abolition of notarial fees to the amount of about \$10,000 in the office of the City Clerk;

The addition to the Police Pension Fund of about \$25,000 annual interest paid by the banks to the treasurer of that fund and formerly kept by him, and the beginning of a suit to recover back interest on that fund;

The reduction of the payroll of the water pumping stations by about \$35,000 a year;

The adoption of the British Thermal Unit plan of purchasing coal in the Department of Public Works—the largest single buyer of coal—and the transfer to that department of the coal purchasing business of the Police and Fire Departments;

The introduction of competition into the letting of contracts for hay and grain for the Fire Department;

The revision of the gasoline street lighting contract;

The appointment of a joint commission of representatives of the city and the Sanitary District to consider possible economies by means of a wider use of the electric light and power of the Drainage Board;

The saving of about \$25,000 annually in the cost of castings in the Water Pipe Extension Division; and

The revision and better enforcement of contract specifications in many of the city departments.

This list is evidence of important financial economies and administrative improvements resulting from the investigations of the Commission. They appear, however, to answer for a fraction only of the recommendations indicated.

The investigations of the City Expenditures Commission demonstrated the

need of some effective and permanent organization—public or private—which should inquire into the methods of public business in Chicago and offer constructive suggestions with reference thereto. The Bureau of Public Efficiency was created under the auspices of the City Club to meet this need, and should be mentioned thus among the results of that Commission's activities.

Tendency Toward Reaction

Since the dissolution of the Commission, a tendency toward relaxation of vigilance and toward a return to the old methods of doing business has shown itself. Since the beginning of the present administration the new Efficiency Division of the Civil Service Commission, created to keep a check upon the work of public employes and to devise methods of improving the service, has relapsed into a condition of practical inaction. Its work has been discontinued in part and a number of its staff have resigned. The police school, established in connection with the Efficiency Division, has been abolished. The Superintendent of Sewers and the Superintendent of City Dumps, discharged by the Civil Service Commission as a result of the findings of the City Expenditures Commission, have been returned to the service.

Judge Julian W. Mack, who presided at the City Club discussion, in introducing the speaker, referred to the work of the Commission as follows:

JULIAN W. MACK: "No more important work for our city has been undertaken in this generation than that of the Merriam Commission. The widest publicity ought to be given to the results and the citizens of Chicago ought to see to it that the recommendations are carried into effect. But the millennium is not here yet, and party politics are not yet eliminated from municipal government as they ought to be. We can get efficient municipal government when we discard party lines and put men in office because of their peculiar fitness for the particular tasks in hand. That is one of the lessons of the work of the Merriam Commission. There are many other lessons, of course, that are to be drawn from the Commission's report. The full

report of the Commission has not yet been published. It is to be hoped that the City Council will publish the official report, and also the three or four preliminary reports that have not yet been printed, in order that the people of our city may know all of the facts." (Applause.)

Prof. Merriam was then introduced and spoke as follows:

Prof. Charles E. Merriam

"Six years ago it was my privilege to make for the City Club an inquiry into the municipal revenues of Chicago. At that time there was serious discussion as to whether revenues or expenditures should be taken up, but the lot finally fell upon revenues. In the Charter Convention, which met shortly after this, I introduced and secured the passage of a resolution calling for an inquiry by the council into city expenditures; but no such action was taken. In the second Charter Convention I again introduced and secured the passage of the same resolution, but with the same result. In 1909 an effort was made by representatives (including the speaker) from various Clubs to organize a Bureau of Municipal Research for the purpose of inquiring into the expenditures of the city and other local governing bodies; but this effort was also abortive. In the same year I entered the Council and in this capacity was able to bring about the investigation.

"It so happened that the Legislature of 1909 increased the borrowing power of the city by about \$16,000,000, conditioning the issue of new bonds upon a favorable referendum vote. On the Monday following the signing of this bill, I introduced a resolution calling for a comprehensive inquiry into the expenditures of Chicago. I stated that as a referendum vote was soon to be taken upon city bonds, such an investigation was entirely appropriate. If the finances of the city were in good condition, the people should be so informed; and if in bad condition the voters were equally entitled to the information. To vote down the resolution and to pass it were equally dangerous, but it was finally decided to pass it. On June 28, 1909, the resolution passed as follows:

BE IT RESOLVED, That the Mayor be and he is hereby authorized to appoint a Commis-

sion of nine (9) persons, of whom not less than three (3) shall be members of the City Council, for the purpose of making a comprehensive inquiry into the expenditures of the City of Chicago, and of making appropriate recommendations to the Mayor and the City Council upon this subject; and be it further

RESOLVED, That all the heads of departments, and city officials and employees, are hereby directed to supply, on request of said Commission, all books, documents, and other information in their possession relevant to the purpose of such inquiry.

Appointment of the Commission

"The following persons were appointed by the Mayor: Aldermen C. E. Merriam, B. W. Snow, Nicholas Finn, Walter H. Wilson, city comptroller; Frank I. Bennet, former chairman of the Finance Committee; Walter Fisher, special traction counsel for the city; John W. Alvord, Wm. A. Tilden, Davaid R. Forgan, George Tunell, A. C. Bartlett. The appointment of a representative of labor was agreed upon, but not made. Ald. Merriam was elected chairman of the commission, and Spurgeon Bell, secretary. A steering committee of four was appointed for the purpose of preparing and presenting material to the full commission. This committee consisted of Ald. Merriam, Ald. Snow, Walter Fisher and George Tunell.

"An appropriation of \$10,000 was made for the work of the commission, and this was later increased by an appropriation of \$50,000. An attempt was made to enjoin the commission from the use of these funds on technical grounds, but Judge Windes declined to grant the injunction.

"The work for the commission was done by capable experts and investigators employed for that purpose. The work on the city budget was done by Herbert R. Sands, who had been employed in a similar capacity by the New York Bureau of Municipal Research; on sewer cleaning and shale rock, by Benj. Welton, of the New York office of Commissioner of Accounts; on the Department of Electricity by W. H. Zimmerman & Co., of Chicago; on Waterworks, by Dabney H. Maury, president of the American Waterworks Association; on street paving by Samuel Whinery, one of the best-known paving engineers in the United States; on street cleaning by Richard Fox, head of the Citizens' Street Cleaning Bureau and one of the best authorities on that subject.

"Preliminary investigations were followed in most cases by public hearings before the commission, at which opportunity was given for explanation of conditions disclosed by the inquiry, or for obtaining further pertinent information.

"The reports of the commission, as soon as completed, were transmitted to the Mayor and the Council. They were also printed and circulated, with the exception of the reports on Water, Street Cleaning, Special Assessments, Civil Service and Pensions. Because of the ruling that the life of the commission ended on April 17, 1911, these can be printed only after Council action.

"In all twenty reports were presented on the following subjects:

- Budget.
- Purchase of Lumber.
- Lawrence Ave. Sewer.
- Purchase of Coal.
- Bureau of Sewers.
- Division of Bridges.
- City Clerk's Office.
- City Purchasing Agent's Office.
- Purchase of Castings.
- Fire Department.
- Police Department.
- Building Department.
- House of Correction.
- Department of Electricity.
- Street Repairing (McGovern Paving Contract).
- Southwest Lake and Land Tunnel.
- Street Cleaning.
- Special Assessments.
- Civil Service.
- Pensions.

Revision of the City Budget

"One of the first pieces of work undertaken by the commission was the revision of the methods of city budget making. Under the old system many of the appropriations had been made in lump sums in such a way as to make effective control of the appropriation impossible.

"By way of illustration, \$205,000 was appropriated for the police department in the 1909 budget under the following title:

For repairs and renewals of wagons and harness, replacement and keep of live stock, identification, police telegraph expenses, rents, repairs and renewals of equipment, hospital service, printing and stationery, secret service, light and heat, and twenty-five more horses and equipment for mounted police and for repair of Hyde Park Station; also other miscellaneous expenses, the sum of \$205,000.

"We subdivided this under various heads in the 1910 budget as follows:

- General supplies;
- Material for repair and replacements by departmental labor;

Repairs and replacements by contract or open order;

Apparatus, machinery, vehicles, harness, etc.;

Purchase of furniture and fittings;

Purchase of horses;

Rents;

Fuel;

Forage, shoeing and boarding horses;

All other operation.

"Another illustration from the Bureau of Sewers: In the 1909 appropriation, \$200,000 was appropriated under the following caption:

Cleaning sewers and catch basins, District No. 1, old city wards 1 to 5, 9 to 11, and 16 to 12, inclusive. District No. 2, Town of Lake, wards 29 to 32, inclusive. District of No. 3, Town of Hyde Park, wards 6 to 8 and 33, inclusive. District No. 4, Lake View, wards 24 to 28, inclusive. District No. 5, Austin and part of old city wards Nos. 12 to 15, 34 and 35.

"This enumeration of districts included all the wards of the city of Chicago, and they might just as well have said, 'for the city of Chicago, Bureau of Sewers, \$200,000.' We sub-divided this into a number of heads in order to ascertain definitely what particular portion of money was appropriated for each purpose, and also to control the fund designated during the entire fiscal year.

"We were successful in having the entire budget of the city of Chicago reorganized on this new basis, thus giving us the most scientific and up-to-date budget which we have ever passed in our city. This method was adopted by the Finance Committee, and the budget was approved by the City Council of Chicago. Accounts were set up corresponding to the different sub-divisions of appropriations. The consequence was that last year we had much more effective control over the city finances than ever before.

"We also succeeded in making another budget change. For many years it had been customary to appropriate a much larger amount than would be available during the year. These were called 'hot air' or 'paper' appropriations. They served no useful purpose and were mischievous in their influence on the city's finances. This system placed a premium upon early expenditure of funds by a bureau or department. The chief who carefully conserved his appropriation for supplies might discover in October or November that city funds were exhausted, while the careless head who spent his funds early in the season met

with no such disappointment. The inevitable effect was detrimental to economic expenditure.

"The action of the commission made it possible to squeeze most of the water out of the city budgets, and consequently the temptation to spend departmental funds early in the season was greatly weakened. The effect upon the city's finances was excellent, as it enabled the careful bureaus to follow a policy of thrift and having without being punished for it at the close of the year.

"One of the indirect consequences of this work was the defeat of the budget in 1911, and its recommitment to the Finance Committee, because of the fact that it contained an over-appropriation so large that it would have broken down the new system.

Investigation of City Purchases

"One of the important branches of the commission's work was the investigation of the purchase of material and supplies, and the letting and enforcement of city contracts. This involved an examination of the office of the City Purchasing Agent, and of contracts for material and work in the various departments of the city government, particularly the department of Public Works.

"Purchases of material and supplies for the various departments are made through the City Purchasing Agent's office, when the amount is less than \$500, without a formal contract. Inquiry into the operations of this office disclosed the existence of many serious abuses. One of these was the so-called 'split requisition,' employed in the purchase of Cummings castings and in other instances. This is a device for evading the requirement that purchases above \$500 in amount be made by contract. For example, a purchase of \$10,000 is split into sums less than \$500, and no public bidding is required on that purchase. In the case of the Cummings castings, a contract for which bids had been taken by the Department of Public Works, was ignored, and material purchased by requisition at a higher figure than the contract called for. This transaction alone cost the city about \$64,000.

"It was also discovered that a large miscellaneous business was given to a political brokerage firm known as the

Chicago Fire Appliance Co., the president of which was the private secretary of the Mayor. This company was apparently upon the 'favored nation' list and sold a large quantity of miscellaneous articles at high prices to the city. In the case of oils purchased, it was found that the prices paid were higher than those asked by other companies, and that the oils were uniformly below specifications, as shown by the city's own tests. Purchases of coal, grain, etc., showed similar irregularities, and demonstrated clearly the demoralized and unsystematic condition of the office.

"The press demanded the resignation of the Purchasing Agent, but no action was taken. In view of this situation I did not press the commission's ordinance providing for a central purchasing agency, increasing the power and responsibility of the head.

"Purchases by contract were carefully examined by the commission. This inquiry covered the drafting of the specifications, the bidding upon the specifications, and the actual enforcement of the terms of the contract. It showed the existence of conditions which were enormously expensive to the taxpayer, and a disgrace to the city. Many of these cases are so well known that it is unnecessary to discuss them at length, and I shall touch upon them only for the purpose of illustrating particular points.

Street Repair Contracts

"In the street repair contracts, declared by our expert, Mr. Samuel Whinery, to be the most fraudulent he had ever seen, the chief difficulty was with the "unbalanced bid."

"The specifications in this contract provided that 'no bid will be accepted which does not contain an adequate or reasonable price for each and every item named in the schedule of prices.'

"Repairs were divided into two classes, Class A and Class B. Class A included repairs where surface and binder were required. Class B included repairs where in addition to surface and binder six inches of Portland cement concrete bases were required. The successful contractor bid \$1.75 per square yard for Class A and 1 cent per square yard for Class B. Averaging the bids, the result is 98 cents, and this contractor was accordingly

awarded the contract. If, however, the bid of the next lowest company had been accepted, the city would have saved \$147,183, using the estimates on which payment was actually made. These figures were:

Class A, repairs, sq. yds.....	229,891
Class B, repairs, sq. yds.....	12,064

"The percentage of Class B to Class A repairs during a series of years is as follows:

1903	344.2	1906	132.9
1904	200.	1907	4.3
1905	336.	1908-9	5.2

"Mr. Whinery estimated that work done at the intersections of 44th Ave., repairs which actually cost \$2,997.91, should have cost \$11.88. Evidently the methods of measurement of areas repaired and the classification of repairs were not calculated to protect the interest of the taxpayer.

"In the street lighting contract, providing for 6,000 gasoline lamps, the difficulty was with the inspection. The city did not even possess the 'portable photometer' necessary to make the tests, and allowed the contractor a free hand. Our tests showed that instead of a guaranteed candlepower of 60, the average was 19, as shown by one set of tests, and 26 by the other. No deduction was made for failure to furnish the light guaranteed, and the loss incurred for this cause was estimated at \$85,000.

"In the case of street-paving contracts the difficulty was double. In the first place, specifications were imperfectly drawn, notably in the case of wood block specifications, which were so arranged as to invite a monopoly of the business. The enforcement of the contract requirements was also defective, as the inspection of the work was shown to be grossly inadequate. Case after case of improper work was reported under the very eye of the city inspector, indicating extreme laxity in inspection, and suggesting connivance between certain contractors and inspectors.

"Shale Rock"

"In the shale rock case, 23,000 cubic yards of rock excavation, one-fourth of the total excavation, was paid for at \$2 per yard, where investigation by the commission and later by the office of

the State's Attorney showed that clay had been taken out. In this case the inspection of the work was again at fault, as more careful investigation of the quality and quantity of material taken out would have prevented the difficulty which arose.

"In the coal cases the typical defects were almost all disclosed. The specifications were antiquated, the system of tests provided was out of date, the enforcement of the tests was lax, while the system of checking bills rendered, particularly in the Fire Department, was inadequate to the point of absurdity.

"Discrepancies discovered in this connection were of three principal varieties: repeated items, varied items, and inserted items. A case involving all three sorts was disclosed at Engine Co. 37. On April 24, under ticket No. 4847, coal to the amount of 232,200 pounds was received and entered on the books of the company. This was paid for three times: on the charge of that date, on the repeated charge of May 25, and on the charge of May 29, which included a second repetition of it. Other illustrations of the practice are given in the commission's report on the Fire Department.

"The purchase of hose in the Fire Department is an illustration of a different kind. In this case the material was purchased without any definite specifications, but by the market brand. The Chicago Fire Appliance Company again figures as one of the firms whose brand was acceptable. The specifications of the National Board of Fire Underwriters have since been adopted, with some modifications.

"An entirely different class of contract was that unearthed in the House of Correction. Contracts for convict labor are made at the absurdly low rate of 25 cents per day per man in certain cases. It was found that from 60 to 100 men are employed at from 25 to 35 cents per day, about the same number at 40 cents per day, and about the same number at 50 cents per day. No bids for the services of prisoners had been solicited, and there was no competition in awarding the contracts.

"The Southwest Land & Lake Tunnel was another illustration of inadequate inspection service. The investigators of the commission disclosed the fact that

the concrete lining of the tunnel was in many instances below the contract requirements as to thickness. Difficulties encountered in sections 1 and 2 of this tunnel had led to the framing of stringent specifications, but notwithstanding this experience, lax inspection nullified the new specifications. Investigation also showed that the quality of concrete used and the methods of applying it were not such as were called for by the plain provisions of the contract.

"These evils may be grouped in a general way as follows:

1. Defects in the specifications themselves, due either to careless continuance of old specifications or to the collusion with contractors.
2. Failure to secure wide competition from a number of bidders.
3. Failure to enforce the terms of the contract, either because of general inefficiency of inspection or because of collusion with contractors.

"The commission's investigation covered the efficiency of expenditure for human service in many important departments. The police force and the law department were important exceptions. Especial attention was given to the Bureau of Sewers, the Bureau of Streets, the Bureau of Bridges, water pumping stations, inspection services in the several departments, and to the practical workings of the Civil Service Law itself.

Labor Efficiency in the Bureau of Sewers

"The first inquiry covered the Bureau of Sewers, and was conducted by Benj. F. Welton, who had been carrying on similar work in the office of Commissioners of Accounts in New York City. Mr. Welton undertook to test the efficiency of the sewer cleaning gangs of the city in a series of observations, public and private. His investigators reported to him a deplorable state of affairs in this branch of the city's service. His tables showed that under secret observation the working time of the men was 40 per cent and the wasted time 40 per cent (waiting and unaccounted for constituting the balance), while under open observation their working time was 76.4 per cent and the wasted time 13.8 per cent. He reported that 'a fair estimate of the existing pay roll waste would be not less than 65 per cent of the labor pay roll expenditures. Testimony subsequently taken before the commission

and before the Civil Service Commission confirmed the report of wholesale waste in the work of catch basin cleaning.

"An examination of the Water Pumping Stations, conducted by Mr. Dabney H. Maury, president of the American Water Works Association, revealed the existence of padded pay rolls. After a thorough investigation of the water works system he submitted a report on the whole situation, analyzing the conditions as he found them, and presenting constructive recommendations for improvement of the service. His report showed enormous waste in the operation of the water works, as well as failure to reach proper standards of practical efficiency in service. In the pay roll of the pumping stations, amounting to \$397,862.20, Mr. Maury recommended reductions amounting to \$75,760, according to one plan, and \$171,242.20, according to another plan.

"He recommended changes in the equipment of the stations which would produce an annual saving of about \$140,000; and changes in the purchase of castings which would have \$38,082.86. With a modern type of hydrant he showed that it would also be possible to save about \$40,000, the cost of annually filling and impacking our hydrants with manure for protection against frost.

"Mr. Maury also called attention to the fact that in 1905 Chicago was obliged to pay \$1,250,000 extra fire insurance premiums on account of water works deficiencies.

"His report also discussed the enormous waste of water actually pumped. This amounts to about two-thirds of the total pumpage. It is estimated that one-third of the water pumped is lost before it reaches the consumer, and one-third is lost by leaky fixtures and otherwise after reaching the consumer. Mr. Maury also called attention to the wide discrepancy between the test duties of the engines at the pumping stations and the station duties as reported. With few exceptions these engines are all of types that should give test duties running from 100,000,000 to 180,000,000 foot pounds for 1,000 pounds of steam. The average station duty is below 79,000,000 foot pounds to 1,000 pounds of steam.

"Examination of the Division of Bridges and Harbors by Walter H. Cur-

tis showed similar wasteful conditions. His report states that the painting of the bridge house at Archer avenue cost about five times a reasonable price, that at Van Buren street about six times; and in the case of the North Halsted street bridge about seven times a reasonable price. Observations and estimates on other work done in this division gave similar results, showing a loss of about fifty per cent in efficiency, as measured by ordinary standards. In the harbor section of this division it was reported that one-half of the pay roll expense could be eliminated — amounting to \$7,640.

Standardization of Street Cleaning

"One of the most important reports submitted to the commission was that made by Richard T. Fox, on the Bureau of Streets. Our investigators were at first refused access to the Bureau records by the Acting Superintendent, but facilities for investigation were afforded later. One of the striking features of this report was the evidence showing the lack of standardization of work. For example, one street sweeper cleaned 10,970 sq. yds. of asphalt in good condition, with a horse traffic of 351 in eight hours. Another cleaned 15,190 sq. yds. in similar conditions, with a horse traffic of 699. Another sweeper cleaned 14,920 sq. yds. of brick in poor condition with a horse traffic of 1,406, while another cleaned 9,500 yds. in good condition with a horse traffic of only 495.

"Investigation of street sweepers' work showed, after all necessary and reasonable allowances, a loss of 12 per cent in time. This amounts to about \$120,000 a year. Much of the time put in, however, was not properly employed. Investigators' reports show that 40 per cent neglected their work to a very considerable extent. The time lost by the garbage teams observed was 22.5 per cent, a loss to the city, as calculated by Mr. Fox, of about \$70,000 a year. The ash teams lost in time 13.7 per cent, or the equivalent of about \$70,000 a year.

"These teams are one of the last big things left in the way of political patronage, and naturally it is difficult to secure economy under such conditions. Between June, 1907, and March, 1910, 71 per cent of the teams in service were re-

placed, obviously for political reasons, as no one has ever contended that a Republican horse can pull more than a Democratic horse, or vice versa. Mr. Fox submitted detailed and important recommendations regarding the reorganization of the whole service.

"In the Department of Electricity, the gas lighting service maintained by the city was found to be in poor condition. Of 956 mantle gas lamps inspected, only 62 per cent were in condition which could be called passable. The following table indicates the results found:

Good	173	20.2 per cent.
Fair	350	40.7 per cent.
Bad	229	26.7 per cent.
Very bad	82	9.69 per cent.
Out	24	2.8 per cent.
No chimney	62	7.2 per cent.
Broken glass	36	4.2 per cent.

"It is highly probable that the light in case of mantle and open flame lights could be increased 50 per cent should the proper care for which the city is paying be given the lamps.

Lax Administration of the Building Department

"The inquiry into the Building Department revealed the existence of serious disorganization and widespread demoralization of the service. The system of records was found to be incomplete, the inspection of buildings, elevators and fire escapes in many instances ineffective, the prosecution of violations of ordinances open to severe criticism. Of 147 suits filed during 13 months, only seven convictions were secured. Thirty-eight cases had been continued five or more times, and 121 cases continued from 1 to 13 times before final disposition. The commissioner himself, when examined, 'was unable to describe in even a general way the manner in which several of the important functions of this department were administered,' and showed an utter lack of familiarity with his department.

"The commission, in its report, declared: 'Your commission is of the opinion that the present commissioner of buildings is incompetent to longer hold his office.'

"Reference has already been made to the inadequacy of the inspection service in connection with the enforcement of contract provisions. In all inspection services, whether the inspector deals with

supplies and material, or with the enforcement of contract provisions as to method of performing work, the city is likely, as shown by our investigation, to receive less than full value for the money expended. The possibility of collusion with contractors, and the general atmosphere of political influence make vigorous and effective inspection difficult. The diligent and impartial inspector is likely to make trouble for himself, and incur a serious danger of removal or transfer; or he may fail to secure deserved promotion; or he may be subjected to the process of 'making it unpleasant for him'—a step which is intended to get rid of the offender. It is clear that where a contractor is influential with the department or the administration, great pressure is brought to bear upon the inspector to relax his vigilance. The effect of this in the long run is to produce a demoralized condition in the entire service.

"Investigation of the special assessment accounting work of the city by Mr. Dickinson, president of Price Waterhouse & Co., assisted by Mr. T. W. Betak, showed a considerable duplication of work. It appeared that men in the Board of Local Improvements, the Comptroller's office and the Collector's office were carrying accounts which were in some instances copies, and which need not be carried more than once under a proper system. It was estimated that some superfluous men were employed by the city for this purpose, and that approximately \$25,000 might be saved if the accounting system in these departments were reorganized.

Civil Service Methods

The commission's inquiry also covered the practical operations of the merit system. This was one of the first inquiries made into the real workings of a municipal civil service system, and developed facts of great importance not only to Chicago, but also to other cities operating under similar systems.

"This inquiry did not cover comprehensively such aspects of the operation of the system as are not matters of record. In order to make the work complete, additional funds would have been necessary and investigators trained to do detective work. Even with these important limitations, the investigation was thor-

ough-going enough to give a fair idea of the present workings of the system and to serve as a basis for recommendations as to changes.

"In certain respects, important advances have been made recently in the workings of the merit system. This is particularly true of the system of re-grading positions in accordance with the duties of the respective offices, as described in detail in the report of the commission's investigators. The effort of the recent commission to standardize the requirements of examinations, and the methods of making them as well, is distinctly creditable. The establishment of the Efficiency Division since the beginning of the commission's investigation is an important step in the direction of high standards of public service.

"In other important particulars, however, there was found to be room for immediate improvements. The present system of advertising Civil Service examinations fails to provide for proper publicity, and, in this way, limits the field of applicants, especially for the higher positions. As shown by the statements in the investigator's report, there is a dearth of candidates for many important places, which can be accounted for by a general lack of information regarding the examinations. This is a serious restriction upon the merit system, and, until some method of providing adequate publicity for these examinations is found, the opportunities for public service remain practically unknown to the average citizen.

"The practice of sixty-day appointments is also a matter of very great importance. While many of these appointments are made for perfectly legitimate reasons, in other cases this does not seem to be true. To the extent that these preliminary appointments are made on a political basis, as in the case of LeGere, Superintendent of Dumps; and for the purpose of providing information and experience to be used in a subsequent examination, it is clear that the purpose of the merit system is defeated.

Favoritism Not Eliminated

"The conduct of the examinations for certain offices does not reflect credit on the commission appointed and paid for the purpose of maintaining merit as dis-

tinguished from political favoritism. The most conspicuous case of this character is found in the selection of the city statistician, who obtained a mark of 50 on a simple examination in arithmetic. The method in which certain positions in the Bureau of Engineering and the place of City Architect were filled is of the same general nature.

"In the case of labor service, the situation is distinctly discreditable to Chicago. The appointments in this division, instead of being on a merit basis, are, in the main, very plainly political. The observance of a number of solemn forms in this connection by no means adds to the dignity of the Civil Service system of Chicago. That laborers should be led to present themselves at the commission's office, or physician's office for physical examination, and, later, upon notification, go to the Ward Superintendent's office in search of a position, when, as a matter of fact, the appointment is determined by political recommendation, is extremely unfortunate. Day laborers ought not to be invited or permitted to spend their time and money searching for positions which it is wholly unlikely they will ever secure.

"The fact is, that by various acts the Civil Service Commission has created a general idea that appointment and promotion in the city service are not wholly based on the merits of the individual candidate, but depend to a very considerable extent upon political influence. The city employe is likely to get the idea that his best hope for advancement in the city's service lies in the strength of his political backing, rather than the faithfulness and efficiency of his performance of his official duties. Whether or not this is wholly true or applicable in a large percentage of cases, if the impression prevails that it is true, the effect is about as injurious to the city service as if it really were the case. This idea can be dispelled only by such unmistakable action on the part of the commission as will make it absolutely clear that that commission stands for the thorough-going application of the merit system in all cases.

Municipal Pensions

"A unique feature of the commission's work was an inquiry into the city's pen-

sion system. The different pension plans were analyzed with a view to possible improvement in conditions. It was found that none of the funds had ever been carefully examined by an actuary, and all are more or less guess-work. The statutes governing the funds are defective in many particulars, notably in respect to refunds. In the case of firemen and policemen no refund whatever is provided. The administration of these funds by several boards is complex, cumbersome and expensive. Some form of consolidation would save time and money for the pensioners and the city.

"An illustration of this was found in the case of the police pension fund. The commission's inquiry showed that, although this fund amounted to about \$600,000, no interest was received from it. It was also found that an attorney for the board was paid \$5,000 a year for his services, although this work was formerly performed by the staff of the Corporation Counsel's office. The bond of the treasurer was fixed at \$40,000, and no outside audit of accounts was made by an independent firm.

"The investigator for the commission recommended the adoption by the city of a superannuation system to cover all employees. The present annual expenditure of the city for pension purposes is about \$700,000, and the additional cost is roughly estimated at \$400,000, or on a contributory basis, about \$200,000. A considerable number of men now carried on the pay rolls are in effect 'pensioners.' These are persons who have long been in the service, and are wholly or partly incapacitated for the active performance of their duties, but are carried at full pay. Their retirement on half pay would have strengthened the service and been a decided economy for the city.

"Entirely aside from the humanitarian considerations involved, it would improve the efficiency of the service, if a pension were made to cover all employees. The practice of large private corporations indicates that business motives alone justify the adoption of the pension system. Such plans have already been put into practical effect by London, Paris, Berlin, and other large municipalities, and it can only be a question of time until the same step is taken by Chicago.

What the Commission has Accomplished

"The results accomplished by the work of the commission were substantial and important, although short of what might have been obtained with proper backing.

"The new segregated budget system, which was adopted, gave the city more complete control over expenditures, and in this way made possible great economies, especially in connection with the other work of the commission.

"Other immediate results were the relief of the public from the payment of about \$10,000 a year in fees formerly the perquisite of the City Clerk. The police Pension Fund Board was reorganized, and interest amounting to about \$25,000 a year was added to the fund, while a suit for payment of back interest was instituted. During the investigation the pay roll of the water pumping stations was reduced to the extent of \$35,000, a new engineer was placed in charge of the stations, and an effort made to reorganize the system.

"As a result of the commission's recommendation, the Commissioner of Public Works and the Deputy Commissioner resigned and were replaced by more efficient men. The Superintendent of Sewers was discharged by the Civil Service Commission, and his place filled by a more capable man, Mr. Hill of the Board of Local Improvements. The Superintendent of Dumps was discharged by the Civil Service Commission. The recommendations of the commission in respect to the City Purchasing Agent and the Commissioner of Buildings were, however, wholly ineffective.

"The amount of work done in the various departments materially increased under the stimulus of the inquiry. This was particularly noticeable in the Department of Public Works, where the greatest wastes were found, and where there was consequently the greatest opportunity for improvement.

"The improvement in city contracts was general. In practically every department old specifications were reconsidered and revised, and their enforcement somewhat more carefully looked after. A noticeable instance of this was the coal contracts, which were brought up to date, purchases being made on the British Thermal Unit Plan, and the enforcement

of specifications being carefully guarded. The enormous frauds and waste in connection with the purchase of coal were checked, and large sums saved to the city. The price of castings was cut in two, resulting in an annual saving on this item alone of \$25,000.

"Hay and grain specifications were revised and placed upon a different basis. In the Fire Department competition has been introduced for the first time in 20 years, and the quality of the materials delivered was substantially improved. The system of purchasing hose in the same department was also revised to conform to the specifications suggested by the National Board of Fire Underwriters.

"The gasoline lighting contract in the Department of Electricity was revised and more attention given to inspection; with the result that for a time at least lights were kept up to the standard set by the contract.

Some Indirect Results of the Work of the Commission

"Under the stimulus of the investigation the contract with the Drainage Board for use of its electric power for lighting purposes, which had been mysteriously lagging for several years, was suddenly completed. This arrangement will add 10,000 new lights to the city's equipment, at a cost of only 20 per cent more than is now paid for over 12,000.

"The transfer of the 39th Street, the Lawrence Ave., and the Wilmette pumping stations to the Sanitary District is another illustration of the same tendency to activity under the influence of the commission's inquiry.

"Paving specifications were revised by the Board of Local Improvements to some extent, although by no means to the degree recommended by Mr. Whinery. Methods of street repair were radically changed.

"An additional force of inspectors was added to the staff of the Board of Local Improvements, with a view of securing more faithful performance of contract obligations. It is doubtful, however, whether this additional number very materially improved the situation.

"As a result of the frauds disclosed in the purchase of coal, the auditing of bills was transferred to the Comptroller's

office, and provision made for central audit in that department. This will, at any rate, prevent the careless kind of an audit made by the retired officers in the Fire Department, and should ensure more careful and expert scrutiny of bills against the city.

"After the commission began an inquiry into the rates of interest received by the city upon the public funds, the Comptroller discovered that he could secure one-quarter to one-half more in the way of interest than he had previously received. The rate was raised from 2 per cent to an average of $2\frac{1}{4}$, thus increasing the revenue of the city by about \$50,000 a year. A bill authorizing the investment of city funds in anticipation tax warrants was also prepared and has just been passed. This will make possible an annual saving of about \$200,000.

"An indirect result of the activity of the commission was the establishment of the Efficiency Division in the Civil Service Commission. This Division was organized for the purpose of studying conditions in the several departments, and of making suggestions for improvement. If this work were carefully and impartially conducted and adequately supported, it would effect important changes in the city service.

Many Recommendations Not Adopted

"On the other hand, important changes suggested by the commission were not made, as they could have been, with the sincere and earnest co-operation of the city administration in our work.

"After demoralized conditions were disclosed in the City Purchasing Agent's office, the head of the department was permitted to remain undisturbed. In spite of the deplorable and dangerous conditions revealed in the Department of Buildings, the head of that department was not relieved of his grave responsibilities.

"Had the recommendations of the commission been vigorously taken up by the city, and an aggressive policy pursued, much more sweeping changes to the great benefit of the taxpayer and the public might have been made. In individual cases where such co-operation was secured, the progress made was rapid and marked.

"Among the more important of the

commission's recommendations not yet carried out are the following:

Establishment of a central purchasing agency and reorganization of methods in the Department of Supplies.

Reorganization of special assessment accounting, with a view of eliminating duplicate sets of accounts and unnecessary clerks.

Reorganization of the Bureau of Streets, as recommended by Mr. Fox, with special reference to the elimination of ward lines and to securing more effective supervision of the work.

Reduction of the pay roll in the various pumping stations, and other important changes in the organization and methods of the water system, as recommended by Mr. Maury.

Reorganization of the Building Department and introduction of more energetic and business-like methods into that branch of city government.

Reorganization of work and reduction of the payroll in the Division of Bridges and Harbors.

Revision of paving specifications, recommended by Mr. Whinnery, especially with reference to wood block monopoly and the adaptation of thickness of pavement to traffic on the street. Also recommendations in respect to securing greater efficiency in the inspection of pavements laid.

Recommendations in regard to the work of the Civil Service Commission with reference to publicity regarding vacancies in the service, elimination of sixty-day political appointments, and reorganization of the labor division.

"When the 1911 budget was presented to the Council, I presented amendments which would have reduced the pay roll obligations of the city about \$100,000 per year. These were voted down, however, and the superfluous positions were continued at the expense of the public.

Commission Not a Prosecuting Body

"Over criminal prosecution the commission had no control. The commission had no power to compel the attendance and testimony of witnesses, excepting city employes; or to compel the production of books, documents and papers, other than those of the city. The commission had no power to prosecute anyone, or to begin a civil suit. It was purely an advisory body, entirely dependent upon the city for the execution of its recommendations.

"All of the commission's material was promptly given to the State's Attorney Cook county. A stenographic copy of all hearings was sent to that office; at many of the hearings, a representative of the State's Attorney was present, at my request, and all evidence or clues that might in any way assist the course of criminal justice were presented. The chairman and the attorney for the com-

mission consulted repeatedly with the State's Attorney, our investigations were used before the grand jury, and otherwise, and no step left untried to bring the guilty to punishment. The testimony in the Cummings castings case was presented to the grand jury, but no indictment returned. In the shale rock case, and the coal frauds, indictments were returned. In the coal cases the indictments were quashed for technical reasons, and the shale rock case was abandoned after Ericson, McGovern and Redieske had been released, and only Bonnell remained.

"New indictments were drawn in the coal cases, and indictments returned in the case of Section N, of the Lawrence Ave. sewer, but these have not yet been brought to trial. Speaking as a layman, I believe that these cases could and should have been more vigorously pushed; and regret that those tried were not more successful in their outcome.

"At one time the question of securing a special State's Attorney for the trial of City Hall cases was considered, but I was advised by the attorney for the commission, Mr. Walter Fisher, that it would not be possible under the statutes of Illinois to do this.

"From the observations made in the various bureaus and departments it is clear that a great gain could be made in most classes of city expenditures under proper management. With a properly organized purchasing department, careful attention to the letting of contracts and their enforcement, and with a business-like organization and supervision of the working force of the city, very material economy could be effected.

The Three Great Types of Waste

"The three great sources of loss are outright graft or stealing, political favoritism, and lack of proper system. The dividing line between these three is not always clearly marked, and they very often shade into each other. It is an easy step from a lax system to political favoritism, and it is an easy step from political favoritism to plain graft. Lack of system fosters political favoritism and graft, and at the same time political favoritism stands in the way of proper methods of organization and supervision. We may say that if graft and politics were

eliminated the introduction of business methods would be comparatively easy, and on the other hand we may say that with a proper system, both political favoritism and theft would be made more difficult. Eliminate these three great types of waste, establish the principle of absolute integrity and public efficiency, drive out politics from the administrative departments, emphasize the importance of economy and efficiency, and the taxpayer's dollar would go much farther than it now does.

"An important problem barely touched by the commission was that of departmental reorganization. At present the number of departments is so great, and their work so badly organized, that the resulting loss in economy and efficiency is great. As things now stand, there are more independent heads of departments in Chicago than there are in the government of the United States. A simpler

form of organization could undoubtedly be worked out, to the very great advantage of the administration and the city.

"One of the chief advantages of the commission form of government has been the definiteness with which power and responsibility may be located. So far as administration is concerned, many of these advantages might be secured by simplifying the organization of the several bureaus and departments and by more careful co-ordination of their work.

"The establishment of the Bureau of Public Efficiency, under the auspices of this Club, is a guarantee that work of this character will be continued and extended to include the other local governing bodies of Chicago and Cook county. The complexity of our local political system makes the existence of such an agency all the more necessary." (Applause.)

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TAXATION EXPERIMENTS IN CANADIAN CITIES

Hon. Henry George, Jr., member of Congress from the 17th district, New York City, who addressed the City Club on March 19, 1910, on the subject of "Industrial Japan," again spoke to the Club on Friday, September 22. Mr. George, who is a leading exponent in this country of the movement for the taxation of land values, spoke with reference to land taxation experiments now being conducted in some Canadian cities, principally Vancouver, British Columbia.

Professor M. S. Wildman, of Northwestern University, chairman of the City Club Committee on Municipal Revenues and Expenditures, introduced Mr. George as follows:

PROF. M. S. WILDMAN: "Human institutions may come and go, but taxes go on forever. Not only do we have taxes always with us, but the subject of taxation has been the basis for endless debate. Our own debate began 150 years ago with a notable gentleman whom we called George III, and the opposition was another George to whom the decision was rendered in that debate. From that time down to the present the name of George has been indelibly associated with the subject of taxation. The English people today are very much exercised over the undertakings of one Lloyd-George, and in the last two generations we have heard from two other gentlemen on this subject, namely, Henry George I and Henry George II.

"I have the pleasure today to introduce to you the Honorable Henry George, Jr., member of the House of Representatives of the 17th district of New York, who will speak to us upon taxation in some Canadian cities." (Applause.)

Hon. Henry George, Jr.

"I spoke here over a year ago and then went west. In the West I met a Chicago man whose profession I may

describe as that of a city booster. His business was to take a town in hand and advertise it to the world. And he boosted it. He boosted it in newspapers and in magazines, on fences and on railroads, in every conceivable way and, speaking as a New York man, in every inconceivable way also. His chief phrase was 'Walla Walla wants you.'

"All the way west, after I left Chicago, I heard that 'Walla Walla wanted me,' and Walla Walla wanted me more and more until I landed in Walla Walla in the middle of the night. At noon the next day I met a gathering of the business men of the town. It was a lively audience. It showed some antagonism to give things ginger and asked plenty of questions to give life to a dead subject, so I enjoyed myself very well. But I told that audience that I did not believe Walla Walla really wanted me, or if it did want me, it did not want me in the way I wanted to be wanted, and therefore I was going to take an afternoon train out of Walla Walla for other parts—preferably Vancouver, British Columbia.

"For if Walla Walla wanted me, why should it not give some manifestation of wanting me? I said that I believed that if Walla Walla really wanted me it would refrain from doing certain things to me which would be to my disadvantage. For when I got to Walla Walla, what do you suppose I found? I found that they tax buildings in Walla Walla. A man comes to Walla Walla and erects a factory; down comes the tax collector. He puts up a house; down comes the tax collector. He puts some machinery in a building; down comes the tax collector. He transacts the business of a bank, or helps production in any other way, and they fine him. I suppose they would throw him in jail if he did not pay the fine, for that usually follows. Of course, you don't have any such iniquitous taxes here.

A Fine on Industry

"I told the Walla Walla people that it reminded me of our New York police courts, where on Monday morning the police line up the drunk and disorderly citizens to receive the judgment of the court. These people are drunk and disorderly; they all need punishment, and they get it. But in New York and Walla Walla the law does something besides that. In New York and Walla Walla the law says: 'Did you put up that seven-story stone building over there? Then you come down to the tax office and get fined, you scoundrel. And if we find you have that building next year at this time we will fine you again, and every year thereafter that the building is in your possession. And if you put another three or ten stories on top of it, or put any machinery in it, or use it in any useful way, you will be fined even more.' Therefore, I told my Walla Walla friends that I was not going to stay in Walla Walla; that I was going to parts that I had just heard of; and I went to Vancouver.

"The Vancouver people have the notion that it is bad policy to impose taxes of such a character as to make the people liars. They conceived the idea, therefore, that taxation on personal property should be abolished, and by degrees they actually did eliminate it altogether. Not one cent goes into the Vancouver city treasury now from any such source. And the crop of liars lessened as the taxes grew smaller.

"It was in 1896 that the reduction of taxes on personal property began. In that year the taxable valuation on such property was reduced to fifty per cent. That seemed to work so well, the people were so much encouraged by the increased building, that in 1906 they reduced the taxable value on personalty to 25 per cent, and in 1910 abolished it altogether. As a consequence of this final step, the value of buildings and improvements in Vancouver increased 67 per cent over the value of the preceding year. I understand that this year there are signs of even greater improvement in consequence of the exemption.

"But Vancouver made a very serious mistake. When it took the tax off personal property and buildings, it should

have increased the tax upon ground values, so as not to encourage a land boom. As a matter of fact, laborers and capitalists, manufacturers and business men began to come to Vancouver. Business boomed, building boomed — and wherever there is a building boom land generally booms. So the price of land in Vancouver began to jump, and it has risen marvelously.

Why Land Values Should be Taxed

"Now, if the tax on ground values had been increased, that tendency to boom in land would have been discouraged. When the tax was taken off buildings and personal property, it ought to have been put upon the ground value. The justice of that is that the value of the ground is publicly made. The value of a house is a value produced by labor and capital and should go to the individuals who created it, but the value of the ground of a city, excluding any improvements, is produced by the coming of people. The ground upon which this building stands has a selling value because it is a center of activity; consequently, that value is created, not by the owner, but by the presence of a large and active population. Its value is due to social growth and social improvement. That value, therefore, justice demands should be taken into a social treasury and used for social purposes. When a man builds a house, that is the effort of his labor; but the ground was made by the Almighty, and it was made for all men. Any peculiar value coming by reason of its site, its nearness to men's uses, ought to be and is a public value and ought to be publicly taken and publicly used.

"The mayor of Vancouver, Mr. Taylor, clearly understands this, and the reason there was no increase in the taxation upon ground values in Vancouver was the limitation of the law. I understand from a public statement by Mayor Taylor in New York less than a fortnight ago that there is a movement on in Vancouver now to have that limitation taken out of the law. The tax upon ground values may then be increased to the end that the city shall get for public use more of this publicly made value, which John Stuart Mill years ago called 'the unearned increment of land.'

The Trend Toward Canada

"Now, isn't this common sense? And isn't Vancouver a very much better place to do business in than Walla Walla or any of our Western American cities where they tax the fruits of industry? I think so, and a lot of other Americans think so. They are trooping up to Vancouver and elsewhere in British Columbia, into the farming regions as well as into the towns. The same is true of the other western provinces of Canada, where this system has been adopted.

"When I was in Japan I heard a story that is old in the annals of the people—a story of a man who went hunting. He was after a rabbit. While he was watching the hole for the rabbit, he discovered that a great snake had come out of the bush and was watching the hole, too. Presently out came Mr. Rabbit and Mr. Snake caught him by the head. The rabbit wiggled and wiggled, but every now and then Mr. Snake would take another jump forward and a little more of Mr. Rabbit would disappear. Finally the last of the rabbit was inside of the snake's distended body. A little below the head of the snake was a great swelling, where it was perfectly evident that the rabbit was still making a few wiggles. Then the snake went over to a bush and bit off some of the leaves and swallowed them. When the snake had eaten many of the leaves the swelling began to subside and after a while snake came down to its usual size.

"When the snake had gone, the hunter went over to look at the bush. Suddenly he had a great thought. He took many of the leaves and put them in his *obi*. When he returned home, he said to his people, 'Bring me some rice,' and they brought him rice, and he ate. And he said again, 'Bring me rice.' And they said, 'But you have had some.' 'Bring me more.' And he ate. Then for the third time he said, 'Bring me some rice.' And they said, 'But you are eating too much.' 'Bring me rice.' And they brought him more. And he insisted on more and more until the neighbors heard of it, and they tapped their heads and said, 'He is gone; the gods have taken away his reason.' But still he ate, and still he ate. In other ways he was as usual; he showed no evidences of

insanity. It was not his usual custom to eat much, but here he was devouring rice as though he were seven men. And when nature rebelled against any more rice, when he could positively eat no more, he took from the folds of his kimono a leaf. He chewed that leaf and swallowed it, and then he ate some more leaves and still some more leaves. Then a great transformation occurred before the startled eyes of his relatives and neighbors. The man entirely disappeared and a pile of rice was left on the floor! The leaves which in the serpent had digested the rabbit, in the man had digested the man instead of the rice.

A Tax on Monopoly

"So it is with taxes. You can put taxes on some things and they work well for mankind, but you can put taxes on other things and they work the other way. The tax that digests well in one case may digest very improperly in another. When you tax industry or any of its forms, you are hampering production. But when you tax land values, you are hitting monopoly, for the value of land is very different from the value of a building, as I have pointed out. One follows the coming together of men; the other is the produce of man's labor. One is a social value; the other is an individual value. To let some man appropriate a social value and then, in order to get revenue to run your government, tax industry, is to cripple that industry and to commit a colossal theft against society. The Canadian people are perceiving these truths, and they are proceeding on perfectly safe ground when they try to make them effective.

"If my Walla Walla friend would bring to Walla Walla a system like that he would discover that men with money in their hands, men with brains, men with hands, would be trooping to Walla Walla instead of going to Seattle or elsewhere. In some parts of the western country I discovered that special inducements in the form of exemptions from taxation for, say, two, five or ten years, are sometimes made to manufacturers to get them to come into a community. Why not make these exemptions permanent? You would see manufacturers moving into town, and you would see those already in the field receiving a remark

able stimulus to production. In these times of high prices and small profits, God knows we need some kind of encouragement for our production. Why not consider this? If, on first consideration, it seems too radical, remember that it is really conservative; that the other is the radical scheme. This is on the rock of justice; that is bare-faced robbery.

A Blow at Land Speculation

"When I spoke about the state fining the man that puts up a building, of course, I did not mean that the law proceeded in exactly that raw, blunt way. In effect it does, however. If we could liberate producers of all sorts from their tax burdens, we would give them great encouragement. And when you tax land values, you do something in addition to removing the tax burden from the producer; you also strike at land speculation, and when you do that, down goes the price. The speculator is a timid man, and if he is holding land out of use, expecting it to rise in price, and if there is any prospect of a heavy tax being placed upon that vacant land, he at once becomes anxious to get rid of it. That drives down the price of land.

"If you should follow the example of these progressive Canadians in the Northwest and should exempt buildings and personal property from taxation and tax only ground values, you would encourage not only the construction and use of buildings, but the use of land as well. All over this neighborhood you find rickety buildings on valuable land. Why? Because the men holding that property are waiting for a rise in the value of land. Just as the population of Chicago increases, just as its institutions multiply, just as its businesses grow, so will the value of this land grow; so will the speculators be more and more encouraged to hold their land out of use—or its adequate use—in order that they may reap a rich harvest. They keep us crowded together while they are keeping God Almighty's land out of use. Discourage that and see what happens. Shift your taxes from production and put your taxes upon land monopoly, and you will encourage production, and discourage the monopoly of the land.

"How great a change would come

upon the face of Chicago if this were brought about! Your great masses of population would not have to huddle together like beasts. Your business areas would spread out.

"What is the explanation of our periodical crises and hard times? They come from speculation in land, from the steady increase in the price of land underneath the whole fabric of business, making it harder and harder for the business man to meet his obligations, to get his profits and at the same time to pay the increased price for the use of land.

"When the price of land is put down, your business man makes more profit, and your millions of people find it easier to live in Chicago, to buy in Chicago, to do business with the business men in Chicago.

A "Chicago Idea"

"You have heard of the 'Des Moines Idea'; you have heard of the 'Iowa Idea.' Why not a 'Chicago Idea'? Why not send this word to the world, that in Chicago there are no taxes upon any kind of industry, that we tax monopoly, that we tax land values which are made by the public into the public treasury, and that anything a man does in Chicago, whether it is to build a house or to extend a business, shall be his to the last penny's worth.

"If you do that, your Chicago will surpass New York in population, your business will come to be the greatest in the world, you will have population here that you cannot keep out, business men will want to establish themselves in such a favorable place, men looking for employment will come to Chicago and find it, for it will be very greatly multiplied here. What you would do would lead the world, for all the cities of the United States would have to follow. That, if you are wise men, is the message that comes from northwestern Canada and from Vancouver. If you accept it, then I say will Chicago be the greatest city in the world." (Applause.)

MR. LOUIS F. POST: "To what extent, if any, has the Vancouver plan influenced other Canadian cities in the Northwest and the American cities across the line, in Washington and Oregon?"

Spread of the Movement

MR. GEORGE: "The influence has been very marked. It has been felt as far as Winnipeg. It is attracting the attention of all the cities of Canada. South of the line it is also having a very great effect. If the Democratic organization in the State of Washington can make an issue of this question of exempting improvements and personalty from taxation and increasing taxes on land values, this question will become a live one in Washington. The chairman of the Democratic State Committee in that state told me a few months ago that he was publicly advocating such a policy, and that he expected this fall to make it the policy of the Democratic party. As to what the Republicans will do in that state I am not clear, but I do know that two men who are likely to be candidates for high offices on the state ticket will make this question their chief issue. In the State of Oregon, and particularly in the city of Portland, this is a political issue and will be voted on in a non-partisan way at the polls next fall.

"These questions are attracting the attention of those cities in the American Northwest, because they find themselves in difficult straits at this time, for, with the high cost of living and the mounting of land values, they find their population and business tending into Canada. In self-defense they are compelled to inaugurate a policy similar to that adopted by the Canadian cities above referred to. Consequently, before a great while we may expect to see this policy in operation in at least some of our northwestern cities.

"This Club I think, might well urge the mayor to send a delegation, or might send one of its own, to the West to investigate the actual workings of the system. The report of such a delegation would show you that this is a wise, a just and a conservative policy, and that it would result in great benefit to Chicago, in a business way and otherwise."

MR. F. I. MOULTON: "What would be the effect of this policy if applied to farm property? What is the attitude of the farming communities toward this sort of taxation?"

Farmers Approve the Land Tax

MR. GEORGE: "The farmers, when they first hear of this method of taxation, are generally opposed to it, for they have the idea that, because they have much land, their taxation would be increased. What we want to do is to tax not land, nor even all land values, but only the site values, irrespective of improvements. Now, the value of a farm is largely the value of the labor and capital invested in it in the form of houses, ditches, taking out of stone, putting in of trees, etc., all of which would be entirely exempt from taxation. The only value which would be taxed would be the 'prairie value.' That would mean the reduction of taxes on farm property instead of an increase.

"I understand that in Canada a delegation representing a very large section of the Canadian farmers went to the capitol in behalf of the passage of the reciprocity bill that was just beaten yesterday in Canada. They said: 'If we can get even this much freedom of trade with the United States, we are willing to accept a tax upon ground values, in order that the government shall sustain no loss in its revenues.' That was an indication that the farmers of Canada, or at least that delegation, had no fear of taxing land values in lieu of other property.

"My own judgment is that as soon as the farmers understand the system thoroughly they are the most enthusiastic of all its supporters, for in the end it involves the abolition of the other tax burdens which now fall very heavily upon them. For this principle, carried forward to its legitimate conclusion, means that the government shall receive from the same source all of its revenues, and that all present charges upon production, made by the local or provincial governments, shall be abolished."

MR. JOSEPH CUMMINS: "Mr. George, what has been the effect of this system, so far, on the market value of real estate in Vancouver?"

MR. GEORGE: "The market value of land has risen in Vancouver because the taxes on land were not increased, and the inrush of people drove up the value of land."

MR. CUMMINS: "How have Vancouver and the other cities that have adopted this method of taxation met the requirements of their budgets since the taxes have been taken off personalty and buildings?"

How the Budget is Met

MR. GEORGE: "Those requirements have been met in two ways. The rise in the value of land has resulted in increased revenues from taxation on the land, and since the value of land and of other property constitute the basis of bond issues, they have been able to issue more bonds. The mayor of Vancouver told me that they have been able to increase their debt because of the increase

in land values. I suggested to him that instead of increasing the city debt they should lessen it by increasing the tax rate on land, that they should cancel the bonds and make Vancouver a city where there should be no municipal debt."

MR. JOSEPH W. HINER: "What would be the effect if all cities should adopt this system?"

MR. GEORGE: "All cities would be freer in production, all cities would be more prosperous, all the people who want to use land would find it easier to get land, all industries would be very much freer from tax burdens, and the prosperity of the United States of America would be multiplied." (Applause.)

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THE ENGLISH RAILWAY STRIKE AND ITS REVOLUTIONARY BEARINGS

Prof. Graham Taylor, of this city, addressed the City Club on the 4th instant on the subject of "The English Railway Strike and Its Revolutionary Bearings". Prof. Taylor, who is a member of this club, is the founder and resident head of the Chicago Commons, President of the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy, Associate Editor of *THE SURVEY* and Professor of Social Economics in the Chicago Theological Seminary.

Dr. Taylor, with his family, made an extended trip to Europe last summer, visiting cities in Italy (including Sicily), Austria, Belgium, Germany, and England. The purpose of this trip was partly the observation of social conditions in these cities. Dr. Taylor was in England in August during the great railway strike which tied up the transportation system of the United Kingdom. He secured at that time a peculiarly intimate acquaintance with the situation, and his impressions of the strike and its significance, as outlined in his address at the City Club, are therefore of unusual interest. His address is printed in full herewith.*

*Dr. Taylor's address had been previously prepared for publication in *THE SURVEY* and appeared in full in the issue of that magazine for October 7, 1911, under the title *England's Revolutionary Strike*. It is reprinted herewith by courtesy of *THE SURVEY*.



A BANNER OF THE RAILWAY STRIKERS.

ENGLAND'S REVOLUTIONARY STRIKE

GRAHAM TAYLOR

The strike of England's transportation workers not only marks but is making a new epoch in the industry of Great Britain. This epoch, now in the making, is so new, came so suddenly, developed such paralyzing power so quickly, and is so portentous in its far-reaching results that it startles the nation and the world. No one knows what to make of it. Employers never had to cope with such a situation before, and are wondering whereunto it may go. The British Cabinet and Parliament are evidently baffled by its complications and the possibilities of its almost certain recurrence. The working people themselves are manifestly surprised, as by an unexpected discovery. Even those who brought about the concerted action of so many organizations and individuals are pausing before the new power they have evoked, much as people do before a new power-producing invention, or as a child cautiously yet expectantly handles a new mechanical toy which he has

seen "go off" only once. The British Trade Union Congress was certainly scared away from the discussion of it at first, when it met at New Castle the week after the truce in the strike was declared. Its leaders made no provision for bringing the situation up for consideration or action. Notwithstanding the rule that only such matters as are sent in two or three weeks in advance can be placed upon the "agenda" of the Congress, or can be submitted by resolution for action, the discussion was forced from the floor. Although speech was free and bold, here as always in England, action was as cautious and conservative as the minds of the 500 delegates were uncertain and divided.

This fact that the movement which issued in the strike was so spontaneous, so unpremeditated, so much more moved by the masses in the ranks than by the leaders, and, therefore, so little understood, makes it all the more impressive. Like all mass movements, this one is

to be accounted for more by general conditions than by the specific grievances or by the immediate occasion which may seem to have given rise to it.

NATIONAL SYMPTOM OF UNREST

Indeed, it would be unjust to English conditions to account for this uprising solely upon the ground of the grievances which merely gave occasion for it. It cannot be understood apart from the very prevalent unrest among the world's manual wage-workers to which it gave a local, yet national, expression. Whatever the immediate occasions for this unrest may be in different lands, however the local situation and grievances may differ, whithersoever the movements of this unrest may tend under differing political and economic conditions, it has a common origin and a common goal. This world-wide unrest has its origin in the world-wide spread of aspirations which increase the wants of the people. Its common goal is a larger share in the product of the common toil and larger control of the conditions under which the working people live and labor. The dominant motive and aim of their struggle is for a higher standard of living and better working conditions. By a strangely common impulse, yet without international organization, or even an understanding between any of them—except the socialist minorities—the ranks of the industrial peoples of Spain and Italy, Belgium and Holland, Germany and France, England and the Scandinavian countries, Australia, New Zealand, and America, and even of the poor peasants of Russia are seething with discontent, and with a fixed determination to share more largely the increasing wealth of the world and the better conditions of human life which they think they are producing. For this they have enlisted in a war without discharge. If all signs fail not, the twentieth century comes in with a people's movement more widely revolutionary than that with which the eighteenth century went out. Its second decade is freighted with greater portents than even the year 1848.

This general background must be kept constantly in mind in order to under-

stand the forces in action on any foreground. Moreover, the vast changes which they are tending to produce, and toward which only the initiative has yet been given, must be forecast if the present play of these forces is to be estimated at their voltage power.

THE FORE-RUNNING STRIKES

As far as could be learned from extended interviews with leading Liberal and Labor members of Parliament, this in brief is the story of what happened on those two eventful days, Friday and Saturday, August 18 and 19. It is told in the terms of the acts and speech of those who not only were close to the situation, but were part of it.

Long prior to these dates both the seamen and the dockers at all the ports had made their final stand for higher wages and changed conditions. Their strikes had not only been threatened, but had been called. The great passenger and freight liners were already tied up at the docks for the lack of coal and because their cargoes could neither be loaded nor unloaded. Meanwhile the government had been actively negotiating through its Board of Trade, both with the companies and the unions of their men, for the resumption of work on the basis of new joint trade agreements between them. Peace had just been negotiated, through the successful mediation of G. R. Askwith, head of the Labor Department of the government Board of Trade. For his service in securing this peaceful settlement Mr. Askwith has since been knighted by the king.

To John Burns was appropriately entrusted the announcement to the dockers that they had been granted what they had asked for and could go to work on the new terms at once. His appearance as a cabinet minister on the very scenes in East London where years ago he led the first great dockers' strike was dramatic. Then he faced the situation, as well as the police and the soldiers, with only his rough, undisciplined, newly organized, yet devoted following of poverty-stricken, desperate men behind him. Now he faced the strongly organized, well-led dockers' unions, with the agreement of their employers in his hand and

the guarantee of the government to back it up. His reception by his old associates was watched with keen interest to see whether he had lost his hold upon them since he became a minister of the crown. But on his appearance in their midst they flocked around his automobile as they used to follow his foot-steps. To the echo they cheered his congratulations upon "their bloodless victory" in their peaceful struggle for which "not a baton had been drawn by a policeman nor a soldier used in all London, with its vast population and acute differences amongst its people." Like a benediction of peace his words fell upon the scenes so full of stress and strain:

"May the higher wages so hardly won be wisely spent, so that the workers with their wives and children may from the vantage ground of better conditions rise to a still further improvement of their social and industrial lot."

FIRST GENERAL RAILWAY STRIKE

But no sooner had this declaration of peace relieved the high tension of the public mind than the scene suddenly shifted from the docks and ships to the railways and their freight handlers. Before the seamen manned their ships or the dockers got under their accumulated burdens, the four great unions, including the engineers, firemen, guards or trainmen, and the "goods" or freight handlers, gave twenty-four hours' notice of their intention to declare a strike if the companies would not meet representatives of these unions to discuss changes in the conciliation boards, whose operation was unsatisfactory to the men. The railway managers promptly and peremptorily declined thus to "recognize" the unions, declared their satisfaction with and determination to stand by the conciliation agreement of 1907, and claimed their ability to maintain an effective, however restricted, service with the protection which the government had assured them.

PRIME MINISTER'S ULTIMATUM

Then the administration took what it supposed to be its final preventive measure. The executives of the four rail-

way unions were summoned to Whitehall to meet the prime minister. After a prolonged conference, at the Board of Trade offices, Mr. Asquith delivered the government's ultimatum in announcing the intention to appoint a royal commission to inquire into the grievances against the conciliation boards, and warned the men that the government was fully determined and prepared to keep the railway traffic open. More by his manner than by what he said, the prime minister's attitude irritated the men and was resented by them. His language, moreover, was misinterpreted, by reason of a sensational announcement, attributed by the press to a prominent railway manager, that "every available soldier would be placed at the service of the companies." The executives of the unions thereupon refused to accept the government's basis for an agreement and retired in silence. On that same Thursday night the strike was "called" by hundreds of telegrams sent to all branches of the railway unions in the three kingdoms: "Your liberty at stake. All railway men must strike at once. Loyalty to each other means victory."

The response to this summons startled all England by its promptness and unanimity. By Friday noon the railway service began to be seriously crippled. Even before the trains stopped running passengers showed their disinclination to run the risk of taking them. By Saturday noon both the passenger and freight traffic was paralyzed. The docks, too, were still deserted. The vessels could neither discharge nor ship their cargoes. Their crews had not yet reported for duty. The "carters" or teamsters in London, Liverpool, and other great ports refused to deliver "goods" and baggage. Liverpool's municipal tram men struck. The garbage collectors of that city disappeared from their rounds. London's subway trainmen abandoned the service. The coal miners in Wales started a "walk-out" which threatened to cut off the supply of fuel, as the food supply had already been menaced.

APPROACH TO GENERAL STRIKE

Such a situation had nearly existed in France and Russia, but it had never been

dreamed of as possible in England. Yet here the first country-wide railway strike was a grim fact. The "sympathetic" strike of the transport men on the waterways and of other trades had actually started. The "general strike" was partially realized to an alarming extent already. All the police force and military resources available had been called out and were in the field. Warships had been dispatched to Liverpool harbor. It looked more like civil war than anything Englishmen had seen since the "Corn Law" agitation confronted the Duke of Wellington's battalions. Moreover, a parliamentary crisis was imminent. For already the leader of the Labor Party in Parliament, J. Ramsay MacDonald, had served the chancellor notice of his intention to move a vote of censure upon the government for the way in which it had conducted the negotiations relating to the industrial strife.

ENTER—CHANCELLOR LLOYD GEORGE

Something had to be done, decisively and quickly. And Lloyd George, chancellor of the exchequer, undertook to do it, acting for the government hereafter as the authorized representative of the prime minister. In response to Mr. MacDonald's formal request to appoint a day for moving the vote of censure, the chancellor proposed to reopen negotiations for the settlement of the strike with the leaders of the labor party in parliament. Mr. MacDonald, who had always striven for a peaceful settlement of the strike, summoned his colleagues forthwith that Friday. But when they met face to face this stern Scotchman insisted upon a categorical answer to just this one question: "Has the government urged, is the government urging, will the government urge the railway managers to meet the representatives of their employes for the settlement of the strike?"

The prime minister had declined to do more in this or any other way until after the royal commission to be appointed had rendered its report. The chancellor also hesitated, yet stopped short of breaking off the renewed negotiation. By turns he too appealed to

the hope of a satisfactory settlement and to the fear of the forcible interference of the government. Neither appeal availed to change the deadlock.

GOVERNMENT'S CHANGE OF FRONT

Thus Friday passed. But overnight something happened to change the attitude of the government. No one outside the Cabinet knows what occurred to effect this change. Whatever it was, it indicated no change in the position of either the railway managers or the railway unions. It must have been something of moment to the government. It was rumored among members of Parliament that a diplomatic dispatch had been received by the minister of foreign affairs intimating that Germany was taking advantage of the preoccupation of the British Cabinet and army in their home crisis in order to increase its demands for more power in Morocco. However it is to be accounted for, peace began to dawn with Saturday morning's sun. The attitude of the three cabinet ministers charged with the settlement of the strike showed a marked change as soon as the conference was resumed. It was explained to the labor party conferees that the prime minister had been misunderstood. The "royal commission" was really an "urgency committee" which would be immediately appointed and convened and would report as soon as possible. The railway managers would meet the union representatives of the men. Overnight the summons upon these managers to appear the next day was sufficiently mandatory to produce their presence. They met. And before midnight on that eventful Saturday the joint agreement was reached, was signed, and was issued by government authority for publication.

Its terms were that the strike should terminate forthwith; that all employes involved in the strike or lock-out should be reinstated, no one to be subjected to proceedings for breach of contract or otherwise penalized; that questions in dispute be settled forthwith by the authorized boards of conciliation; that temporary provision for arbitration be made for the settlement of questions not conciliated; that both sides cooperate with the



BEN TILLETT ADDRESSING STRIKERS IN HYDE PARK.

Commission of Inquiry to devise the best means of settling disputes.

But above and beyond these terms, the fact of most significance to the workingmen was that for the first time "recognition" had been given their unions in the signature of the joint agreement by representatives of the railway companies, of the men's railway unions, and of the government Board of Trade. Forthwith the strike was called off, and the telegraphic summons back to work was obeyed as promptly and generally as the call to quit. Forthwith Parliament adjourned, after the stormy final session in which the breach was widened between the liberal and labor parties. Forthwith the Special Commission of Inquiry was appointed, convened, and began to take the testimony of the railway union men, the non-union railway employes, and the representatives of the railway companies. Such is the pending truce, during which all three parties to this serious struggle are only resting on their arms—except that extraordinary police and military preparations and precautions continue to be made by the government in anticipation of the possible recurrence of hostilities.

ROYAL COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

In this pause, so pregnant with issues that are certain to develop rapid and radical changes in policies, legislation, and political action, public attention is drawn to the daily sessions of the royal Commission of Inquiry, the Trade Union Congress, and the Labor Party Conference, and to the action of the railway companies, chambers of commerce, and other bodies. At these points are to be seen the manouvering to gain any possible advantage in the class struggle that has only just begun.

The commission of inquiry sits in open session at the Board of Trade daily from ten o'clock in the morning to five o'clock in the evening. Testimony is widely sought and freely given by the railway union men, non-union railway employes, the officials of the railway companies and of the boards of conciliation. The personnel of the commission includes two able and conservative representatives of the labor interests; two strong men identified with commercial interests, one of them a railway attorney; and, in the person of the chairman, a representative of the government who has held many important official positions. Both the

witnesses and the commissioners are left entirely free from any restrictive rules of procedure to question and answer each other fully.

THE RAILWAY EMPLOYEES' CASE

The men's side of the case centers about three grievances. The first is the disparity between the rapid increase of the cost of living and the slower rise in the rate of wages. While all questions of wages and hours belong to the conciliation boards to settle, this underlying cause of discontent crops out upon the surface of every discussion of the situation, in and outside of the commission. A comparison of the government figures issued by the Board of Trade, the statements of railway managers, and the wages-census compiled by statisticians for the railway men's union yields the following conclusions: In the last thirty years wages have risen 6 per cent on the average, while retail prices have increased 17 per cent. In the decade 1899-1909, the rise in railway men's wages on the average has been only three farthings (one cent and a half) per capita. Between 1901 and 1910 the purchasing power of the sovereign fell 8 per cent, so that the railway employes on the average suffered an actual loss of one shilling per week during those nine years. This disparity between income and the cost of living is the greater when the low total of weekly earnings is taken into account; 134,000 railway employes receive \$5 or less per week; 107,000 over \$5 and under \$7.50; 78,000 over the latter amount. Of the engineers, firemen, passenger and freight trainmen, one-half receive between \$5 and \$7.50, and only a little over 11 per cent earn more than \$1 per day. In this discussion, fortunately, there are well authenticated figures to appeal to, for a comparative study of the cost of living and the rates of wages in the United Kingdom and in the United States and other countries has been made by the government Board of Trade. The timely appearance of the American statistics in Mr. Askwith's official report on the Cost of Living in American Towns gives an accredited basis for testing the facts ap-

pealed to both in this and the tariff controversy.

THE CONCILIATION BOARDS

The second grievance is the alleged failure of the scheme for conciliation and arbitration which has been in operation since 1907. It was established by the Board of Trade, through the instrumentality of Lloyd George, when he was president of the board. It was devised to avert a general railway strike which was then threatened. The principal railway companies and the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants entered into the agreement it involved and obligated themselves to abide by its provision for seven years, and thereafter it is terminable only upon a year's notice given by either party. It provided boards of conciliation for the settlement of such differences over wages and hours as could not be settled by the parties at variance. These boards were constituted by the appointment by the employes from among themselves, and by the company, of one or more representatives each. In addition to these sectional boards which deal with the differences of certain groups, there is a central board of conciliation for each railway, consisting of one or more members from each sectional board, to which is referred on appeal any question not satisfactorily settled by the latter. In the event of the failure of this central board to decide the matter, it is committed for final decision to an arbitrator agreed upon by the two sides of the divided central board, or, in default of such agreement, by the speaker of the House of Commons and the Master of the Rolls.

The complaint of the men is not against the principle of conciliation and arbitration, but against the failure of the scheme to settle differences promptly and justly. This they charge is due to the alleged trifling and manipulation of the railway managements. Many instances of obstructive delay and failure to adjudicate the differences referred to these boards were cited before the commission by railway employes from all parts of the United Kingdom. What is considered the plain and persistent breach of the spirit of the conciliation agreement

of 1907 is alleged by the men to justify their strike, which broke its letter. They further claim that the conciliation boards have operated to reduce their wages one pence lower on the average than the rate prevailing the year before the scheme came into effect. Their loyalty to the method of arbitrating their differences has undoubtedly suffered a serious setback under the disheartening delays and discouraging ineffectiveness which they charge against the operation of these boards during the past four years.

The third grievance and the one on which the final stand was made in agreeing to any settlement of the recent strike was the refusal of the railway managers to recognize the unions by meeting their representatives to confer over the situation. Recognition or a general strike were the alternatives laid down in the ultimatum of the men and their parliamentary leaders.

THE RAILWAY COMPANIES' CASE

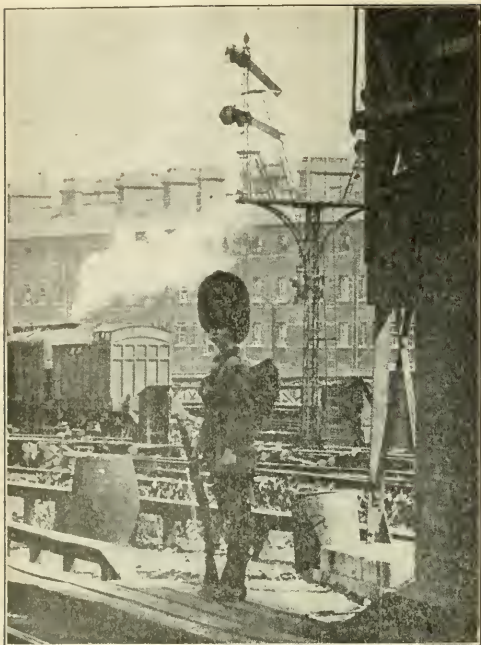
Representatives of the railway companies before the Commission of Inquiry stoutly maintained their allegiance to the conciliation agreement and charged the unions with an open and inexcusable breach of their contract, three years before its term expired. They denied that more than 27 per cent of the railway employees eligible for membership are actually identified with the unions or represent the non-union employees. They claimed that the railways had made a great concession in relinquishing to arbitrators their right to control wages and hours, in order to secure the agreement of the unions neither to strike nor to demand recognition during the contract term of seven years. They insisted that recognition of the unions would destroy discipline and increase the power to call strikes and stop traffic, and should therefore be refused as heretofore. They were willing to amend the act regulating conciliation boards so as to expedite their decisions and increase their efficiency. They proposed to make striking a penal offence as a means of securing compliance with the decisions of the boards of conciliation and of the arbitrators. This was justified on the ground that continuity

of railway work is in the public interest and that the same loyalty to the public should be legally demanded from railway employees as from soldiers and sailors. They neither denied the employees' complaints of the delays and failures in adjusting grievances, nor referred to the disparity between the cost of living and the rate of wages in accounting for the strike. But it has already given impetus to the Labor Party's campaign for the national ownership and operation of railways. Thus before the commission as elsewhere Greek met Greek, indicating only "the tug of war."

ARE UNIONS CHANGING FRONT?

If the government changed front in bringing about this truce for the settlement of the issues which occasioned the strike, just as surely are the British trade unionists doing so in the tactics to which they are resorting. The historic policy by which the trade unions of the United Kingdom have grown into power and set the type for the constructive action of the labor movement in other lands, and especially in America, has suddenly been set aside, at least for the present crisis. The autonomy of the separate trades has hitherto been tenaciously held as the unit of their policy. But the joint action of all the railway unions substitutes action by industries for that of the specialized or "sectional" trade unions. The all-comprehensive transport workers' federation became a fact before it was agreed upon or ratified by many unions. The "sympathetic strike" so suddenly evolved the class consciousness of "solidarity" that it has become the watch-word of a new crusade. This strange strike transformed the representative character and method of the English labor movement, for the time being at least, into the "syndical" plan of action—the class acting en masse through "syndicated" trade unions—which has already become a well established and widely developed labor policy on the continent of Europe.

Thus almost over night the most radical change in the spirit, method, and policy of British trade unionism was



From Illustrated London News.

"TOMMY ATKINS" ON STRIKE DUTY.

sprung upon old England. That it was the spontaneous movement of the rank and file and was neither premeditated nor expected by the leaders was evident.

BLOWING OFF STEAM IN HYDE PARK

Hyde Park, as usual, was the first touch-stone to tell the feeling of the men. This great safety-valve was as wide open as ever. On the Sunday afternoon following the midnight declaration of peace, marching bodies of the striking railway men began to arrive on the park's great lawns, headed by bands of music and carrying the picture-banners of their unions. By two o'clock 25,000 or more of them had gathered in great groups around the wagons that served as platforms for the speakers. No restriction was placed upon their presence or their freedom of speech. Only a few policemen were in sight. Here as everywhere the self-restraint, patient good-humor, reasonableness, and tact of the hard-worked and often hard-beset London police once more established their reputation for the best control of excited crowds.

This mass meeting, which was called as a council of war while the strike was on, turned out to be a ratification of the peace which, to every one's surprise, was declared over night. The railway union leaders were moderate in their tone and without bitterness in their speech. The crowds of men, who cheered to the echo every reference to their loyalty to each other in united action, were orderly, good-natured, and apparently grateful and hopeful over the plans and prospects for a peaceful adjustment of their grievances. They greeted with equal applause the summons "back to work tomorrow" and the call upon their railway unions to join the Transport Workers' Federation. "From sea and river, road and rail" they promised to unite in the one brotherhood of the one industry.

OLD vs. NEW TACTICS

The Trade Union Congress at Newcastle was another index of the attitude of the old unions to the new and hitherto untried mass movement of British labor. For forty-four years this affiliation of unions had been growing increasingly conservative, and now the officials of the congress and leaders on the floor hesitated to take any position. The chairman made only a passing allusion to the winning of recent strikes. The report of the parliamentary committee failed to assume any pronounced attitude. But the rank and file were not to be silenced. Occasion was readily found to open the discussion. It was forced, as was the strike itself, by the lower paid, unskilled, and less permanently organized men. The talk they started was radical. There was a most marked tendency to revert to the strike as the first instead of the last resort. Even Shakespeare's lines were forced into new application:

Let those now strike who never struck before,

And those who always struck now strike the more.

Such rallying cries were raised as, "No more sectional strikes or lock-outs;" "let all strike or none;" "federated trades must act as whole industries, not as separate unions."



LIVERPOOL'S MOVING FORT.

From Illustrated London News.

The "armored" motor shown in this picture was used by the police to escort prison vans and for other strike duty. The photograph was taken on Scotland Road.

A labor member of parliament was rebuked for introducing a bill forbidding strikes until after thirty days' notice, just "when we are only beginning to see how effective a strike may be."

But the action of the congress was never the less conservatively slow and cautious. And yet its delegates unanimously voted to call conferences of "sectional" unions in specialized trades to organize all the unions in the industry into a federation. The consolidation of the Trade Union Congress and the Annual Conference of the Labor Party was also initiated. These far-reaching initiatives, however, did not satisfy the more expectant majority. They expected, with the editor of the widely circulated weekly *Labor Leader*, "a clear ringing note of militance and inspiration, . . . a sense of burning indignation, . . . a bold ringing challenge of the government's at-

titude, . . . a discovery of the value of the sympathetic strike which had come as a revelation to the workers." They felt with him that "it is impossible to disguise the fact that the congress as a whole failed to do justice to the situation." On the other hand the conservative leaders who are in official control of the Trade Union Congress, together with the strongest men representing the Labor party in Parliament and the leaders of most of the strongest unions, expressed satisfaction with the cautious deliberation and minimum amount of general discussion with which the congress, as a whole, assumed its attitude and took action relative to the situation. Their sentiment was voiced by Thomas Burt, M.P., who is recognized and revered as "the grand old man" among the leaders.

"The present movement may do good,"

he said, but he repeatedly warned them that "the general and national strike is a dangerous weapon; the poorest of the poor are the first to suffer and suffer most acutely." Nevertheless he admitted that "national and sympathetic action means a shorter fight."

On the contrary, the men who express the feeling of the more radical rank and file refer to the temporary agreement arranged by their parliamentary leaders as a "surrender of the strike, at the very rise of its overwhelming power . . . the railway men's Sedan. . . . Suddenly, tragically, and farcically the nation has passed through the greatest industrial crisis in its history . . . "what should have been the climax of the industrial upheaval has been turned into an anticlimax by the terms of settlement." Nevertheless, J. Ramsay MacDonald insists that this settlement, which he negotiated, is "all that could be provided now—an opportunity through the methods of collective bargaining to present their case for advances and improvements in their conditions. The railway servants will now do exactly what other trade unionists have to do—and that for the first time in the history of railway trade unionism. The railway companies now see that wages must be advanced and conditions improved. The strike convinced them that preparations had to be made at once for improvement."

REVOLT AGAINST CONSERVATISM

The dissatisfaction with the attitude and action of the Trade Union Congress already takes the form of a revolt against its leaders. The *Labor Leader* declares "this old, unheroic spirit" to be "the great drag on the labor movement. . . . Never can it do itself justice till this spirit is utterly cast out."

Even Philip Snowden, one of the ablest representatives of the labor party in Parliament, declares:

"At the close of the congress the country was still left in ignorance of the real attitude of the responsible leaders of the unions to the new revolutionary methods. The recent unrest has been a movement of the rank and file, who have led the leaders. The old trade union leaders have not courage to

put themselves in opposition to the revolutionary tendencies, or place themselves at the head of the movement."

Of course the small but active minority of socialists are going a great way further. They say, "We told you so." They take for granted that trade unionism will be seen to have proved itself inadequate, that its labor party is only a tool of other party politicians, that the sympathetic strike and syndicating unions by industries is half-way socialism, and that only a straight-out socialist party can and will assert and gain the rights of labor. Varied and forcible utterance was publicly given to this revolutionary spirit and tactics by the actual leaders of the strike "at the front" in Liverpool. Ben Tillet, who, although heard with indifference in the Trades Union Congress, is a most effective open-air agitator, expects his Transport Workers' Federation to lead the way to the class solidarity of the working people.

"The movement was a spontaneous up-rush from below," he said. "There was no organization in the ordinary sense. If there had been it would have failed. The ordinary trade-union leader would have been too cautious. The rank and file came in with a rush. One class after another joined hands with extraordinary unanimity and spontaneity, making common cause as a band of brothers. It was splendid."

On this same occasion, however, he deprecated violence and the general strike.

"We felt and said from the first that our cause was injured by anything that savored of violence. Those who talk so lightly of paralyzing everything have no responsibility."

Yet Keir Hardie talked just so.

"The only course to be taken at Liverpool is to paralyze everything," he declared. "Let every working man drop work and sit tight, using no violence, making no demonstration; simply let him refuse to do a hand's turn of work for any one. It is the only thing to be done . . . The old revolutionary spirit which seemed to have died out in the time of the Chartists seems to have revived in our midst. It is a most welcome and delightful sur-

prise to me. It is a revolution that is brewing, and it is going to come. And, as the next step, let them paralyze everything."

Tom Mann, who, as leader of the strike at Liverpool, was dictator of the city for a week, went beyond the limit, still further.

"We don't care for your public opinion," he said to William T. Stead. "We do not ask for your sympathy. You have failed—failed utterly—to abolish poverty. All your churches, all your governments, all your institutions, all your laws have failed. You are an admitted failure, all of you. But, by Heaven, we are not going to fail. We are going to abolish poverty, and to do it ourselves, without asking the help of any but ourselves."

By contrast, the trade unionism of the British Congress and the American Federation of Labor is surely the conservatism of the labor movement. And so far the choice lies between these two tendencies, other than which there is no third as yet in sight or in prospect. It remains to be seen which will win the ascendancy. In England, as in America, it will depend upon the strength and progressiveness of the conservative leaders, and the encouragement they get in counteracting the effect of the repression of legitimate trade unionism, by which their followers are driven to dangerously radical extremes. If the leadership of Tom Mann and Keir Hardie supersedes that of such men as J. Ramsay MacDonald, Thomas Burt, Arthur Henderson, and John Hodge; if the spirit and policy of the Trade Union Congress are abandoned for the aims and methods of the European syndicalism or socialism; will it not disrupt and disintegrate the organized labor of England? For these radical movements are not likely either to transform the conservative characteristics of the British working-people, nor to modify their methods quickly enough to fit the hitherto inherent conservatism of all Britishers, before the disruption of the trade union constituency would occur under the stress of the transition. How such a sudden transition can take place without civil war not even the genius of the English peo-

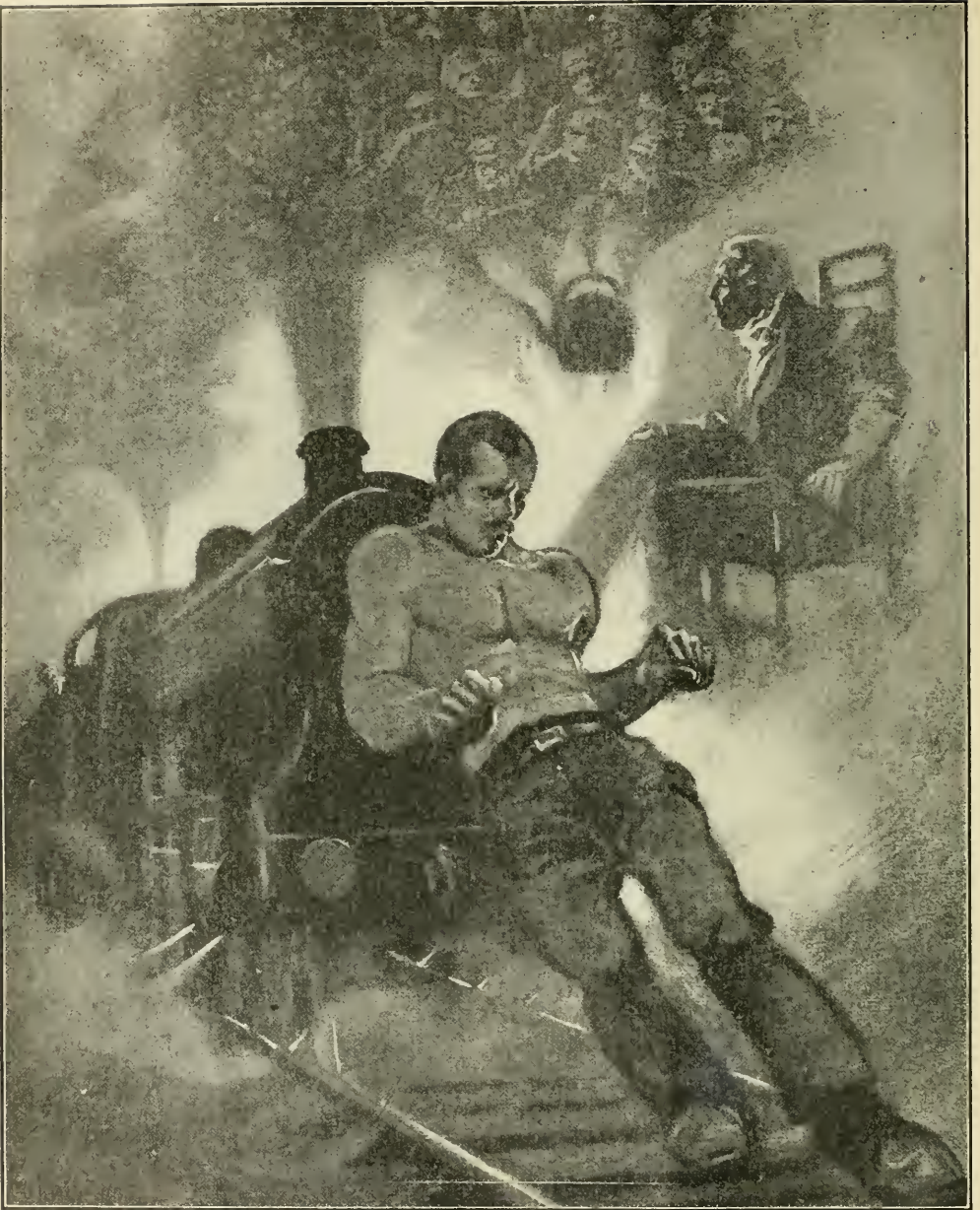
ple for evolution within constitutional limits gives any assurance. But if the better type of seasoned leaders can still lead the new enthusiasm among the rank and file for united effort, a constructively progressive policy would be practically irresistible in its realization of democracy through legislative and economic advance.

We have let these events and those who enacted or personified them speak for themselves. Our single purpose has been to reproduce the stirring scenes and speech, seen and heard or, better still, narrated in personal interviews by a very few who themselves were identified with the turns of affairs in Parliament, in the strike council of cabinet ministers, in the hearings of the Royal Commission of Inquiry, and in the leadership of the strike. Our readers may thus be in better position to interpret for themselves not only these swiftly moving events described but also their more widely significant issues which are sure to follow in England and elsewhere. These critical issues are to be looked for in industry, in politics, and in religion.

THE INDUSTRIAL ISSUE

On the labor side of the industrial situation, we have already raised the questions: Will this epoch-making strike make for a reaction toward the safe, slow-moving, accredited trade unionism which has been more in accord with British constitutional methods? Or will it develop the "syndicalist" policy of the revolutionary labor movement in France? Or will it lead still further afield into the German type of Socialist Party politics?

On the part of the employers and investors in labor-employing interests there is as yet apparent chiefly their silence in their alarmed surprise at the overwhelming power of the general strike. So far it has been broken only by a few personal or formal demands upon Parliament to penalize the strike in public service employment; and to rescind the legalizing of "peaceful picketing" in the Trades Dispute Act of 1906. The under-paying of transport workers is denied by few, and the increased rate of wages secured by seamen and dockers



Fred Leist in London Graphic.

AN EFFECT OF STEAM UNFORESEEN BY JAMES WATT.

This cartoon is an allegory of the great strike and shows the worker holding up the mighty mechanism. The figure of Stephenson is seen seated beside the legendary kettle which is said to have given such epoch-making ideas to his great predecessor, James Watt.

and demanded by railway men is not considered excessive. British stock markets and volume of trade stood the strain of risk and loss remarkably well.

Consols fell $\frac{1}{4}$, home railway stocks

not more than $\frac{3}{4}$, and a few industrials $\frac{1}{16}$. The Government Board of Trade reported for August 373,615 employees directly involved in trade disputes, as against 17,305 in this month last year;

2,323,800 working days lost, as against 140,300 in August last year; 228,600 employes received a net increase of \$47,000 per week in wages, and 30,000 teamsters and lightermen in London had their working hours reduced; but 130,000 coal miners and 4,700 blast furnace men suffered a reduction of their wages. Nevertheless the volume of trade fell off surprisingly little and in trades other than those affected directly by the strike employment was almost as good as in July.

THE POLITICAL ISSUE

In politics the issue is imminent and acute. The Liberal government depends for its majority in Parliament and therefore for its continuance in power upon the votes of the Labor Party. Nevertheless, it could not have done less to preserve the peace and restore order than it did and yet claim to be a government at all. At Liverpool, and among the mixed races in the mining population of Southern Wales, life and property were in great peril. Yet the use of the army there and the extraordinary military precautions and plans now being projected, and the proposal to increase the police by a large volunteer force to be available only in emergencies, are deeply resented. This and other collisions with the Liberals threaten an early disruption of their alliance with the Labor Party, and their consequent retirement from power. To this the Labor Party is indifferent. For while it has little to expect from the Conservatives, it expects a great increase of votes at the expense of the Liberals, and it hopes ultimately to succeed them as the progressive party of the nation. In any event the political sphere in England, and also in America, as it is in Germany, is to be the arena of the struggle for industrial democracy.

THE FINAL APPEAL TO RELIGION

Into the religious sphere of thought and action the struggle has already entered. The churches, as Dr. F. B. Meyer, revered leader of the Free Church Council, publicly proclaims, cannot keep out of it if they would. For not only are their own ideals and standards of life and relationship involved, but also

those of a large and influential part of their own constituencies. In their membership are many wage-payers and captains of industry indeed, but far more wage-earners and labor leaders. It would surprise American church people to find so many of the national and local leaders of England's trade unions in the membership, official positions, and active work of the churches. Pages of THE SURVEY could be filled with the names and services of these labor leaders who are lay preachers, at the head of church brotherhoods, prominent in adult Sunday Schools, leaders in temperance and missionary work. Scores of these more prominent leaders hold a "Fellowship" to express their common religious aim and enjoy religious friendship." On their "Labor Week," held for the last two years, these men publicly express their views on the relation between labor and religion. More loyalty to Christianity and dependence upon its faith and power are never expressed in church assemblies than was avowed by these leaders now most prominent as heads of their unions and as labor party members of Parliament.¹ This "Fellowship" is described by a London citizen prominent in social work as having a spirit of religious earnestness and determination like that of the old Covenanters.

In any event, and on either side of any dividing line, such men as these must be reckoned with in the future, as they always have been in the past. Without them and their leadership any advantage gained for labor by methods which they could not follow is sure to be more temporary than permanent, more apparent than real, more productive of reaction than progress. So, without the ideals and spirit of religion leading and supporting the people in their coming struggle for better conditions of life and work and for a more democratic control of them, there will be spasms of blood and tears, instead of a steady, progressive, irresistible movement for the certain attainment of human rights and opportunity for all.

London, Sept. 15, 1911.

¹See LABOR AND RELIGION, by Ten Labor Members; CHRIST AND LABOR, by Eleven Labor Members of Parliament. Also HOW OLD AGE PENSIONS BEGAN TO BE, by F. Herbert Stead.

It seems ridiculous that a people so apt and so eager to seek out and destroy the mysterious and hidden enemies of mankind, should be so slow and sluggish in fighting a foe so plainly in sight and so readily vanquished.—MR. FISHER.

The Fire Waste

ADDRESS OF

HON. WALTER L. FISHER

Secretary of the Interior, U. S.

BEFORE THE

National Fire Protection Association

AT THE

Fifteenth Annual Meeting

WALDORF-ASTORIA HOTEL

NEW YORK CITY

MAY 24, 1911

OFFICE OF

NATIONAL FIRE PROTECTION ASSOCIATION

87 MILK STREET, BOSTON

W. H. MERRILL, President.

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87 Milk Street, Boston.

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National Insurance Association,
Nebraska Inspection Bureau,
Nebraska State Fire Prevention Association,
Newark Inspection Bureau,
New Brunswick Board of Fire Underwriters,

New England Bureau of United Inspection,
New England Insurance Exchange,
New Hampshire Board of Fire Underwriters,
New York Board of Fire Underwriters,
New York Fire Insurance Exchange,
North Dakota State Fire Prevention Association,
Nova Scotia Board of Fire Underwriters,
Ohio Inspection Bureau,
Ohio State Fire Prevention Association,
Oklahoma Inspection Bureau,
Philadelphia Fire Underwriters' Association,
Philadelphia Suburban Underwriters' Assn.,
Rocky Mountain Fire Underwriters' Association,
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South Eastern Underwriters' Association,
St. Louis Fire Prevention Bureau,
Suburban Fire Insurance Exchange,
Tennessee Inspection Bureau,
Texas Fire Prevention Association,
The Union,
Underwriters' Assn. of the Middle Department,
Underwriters' Association of New York State,
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Western Actuarial Bureau (Fire),
Western Canada Fire Underwriters' Association,
Western Factory Insurance Association,
Western Sprinklered Risk Association,
West Virginia Fire Underwriters' Association,
West Virginia Inspection Bureau,
Wisconsin State Fire Prevention Association.

THE FIRE WASTE.

Address of Hon. Walter L. Fisher, Secretary of the Interior, U. S.

If the Government should suddenly lay an annual tax of \$2.51 on every man, woman, and child in the United States on a promise of spending the money for some useful purpose, that promise would not avail against the storm of protest which would be aroused. Nevertheless, a tax which in the aggregate amounts to that is being paid by the people of this country. It is the annual fire loss of the nation upon buildings and their contents alone. It is expended not in productive enterprise, but in death and destruction, and an even larger sum is annually expended upon fire protection and insurance premiums. Not only is this property loss paid by our people, but, in addition, annually 1,500 persons give up their lives, and nearly 6,000 are injured in fires.

Possibly in no other direction is the national habit of waste more clearly exemplified than in the comparative indifference with which we permit such a sacrifice. In no other civilized country are conditions so bad as they are here.

The most comprehensive statement of the conditions as they exist in the United States, of which I have knowledge, is contained in Bulletin No. 418, entitled "The Fire Tax and Waste of Structural Materials in the United States," published last year by the Geological Survey of the Department of the Interior. This bulletin states that "The actual fire losses due to the destruction of buildings and their contents amounted (in 1907, the latest year for which statistics are available) to \$215,084,709, a per capita loss for the United States of \$2.51. The per capita losses in the cities of the six leading European countries amounted to but 33 cents, or about one-eighth of the per capita loss sustained in the United States."

But this is not all the loss. The Geological Survey bulletin goes on to say that in that year the total cost of fires, excluding those of forest fires and marine losses, but including excess cost of fire protection due to bad construction, and excess premiums over insurance paid, amounted in one year (1907) to more than \$456,485,000—a tax on the people exceeding the total value estimated for the gold, silver, copper, and petroleum produced in the United States in that year. In the four years that have elapsed since these statistics were obtained, the loss proportionately has not decreased.

Here in New York recently we had the horror of the Asch building fire, with its apparently needless sacrifice of human life. At Albany, the fire in the capitol building robbed the state of many of its records. Last year in Chicago, twenty-five professional firemen, including the chief, lost their lives in the discharge of their duty. Thirty people were killed

in a burning factory at Newark, N. J., and a dozen in a furniture fire at Chicago. Before this were the men sacrificed in the mine at Cherry, the children in the school at Collinwood, the people in the hall at Boyertown. One thousand perished from the disaster to the steamer "General Slocum," and nearly six hundred, mostly women and children, were suffocated at the Iroquois Theatre in Chicago. Just recently seventy-four miners were burned to death in the Pancoast mine, at Throop, Penn.

Apart from all the figures which I have quoted are those which tell of the destruction which our carelessness has permitted among our natural resources. Last year's record is a red and bloody one. Seventy-six men employed by the National Government lost their lives in fighting forest fires in 1910. Nearly five million acres of national forest land were burned over—an area greater in extent than the whole state of New Jersey; in fact, an area only a trifle smaller than the combined area of Connecticut, Delaware, and Rhode Island. Almost a quarter of a million acres of our national parks were burned over in these destructive fires. The loss by fire in the national forests alone last year amounts to the appalling sum of more than \$26,000,000. It is not a pleasant tale to read when one has assembled the data.

But to return to the available material regarding fire losses in urban communities. A comparison of the average annual cost of maintaining fire departments in European and American cities indicates that the cost in European cities is twenty cents per capita, and in corresponding cities in the United States \$1.53 per capita, or seven and one-half times as great. "It is reasonable to assume," says the Survey, "that when building construction in the United States shall have reached a condition similar to that in Europe our annual cost on this item alone may be reduced from more than \$25,000,000 to \$3,000,000, or to less than one-seventh of the present total."

It may seem a case of coals for Newcastle to repeat these figures to an audience that knows them far better than I. Indeed, I do not doubt that the average intelligent citizen of the United States is aware of the fact that fires in America are comparatively frequent. He undoubtedly appreciates in a general way that a large percentage of our fires are from preventable causes, and that the sacrifice of life and property through loss by fire is, much of it, needless. What he does not fully realize is his own duty, and the duty of city, state, and nation in the premises. He understands as yet but vaguely the significance of that change of public sentiment which has made of the movement for the Conservation of our Natural Resources a broader and deeper movement for the Conservation of our National Resources. He glimpses but dimly how great an obstacle to human progress and to human happiness is needless waste, whether it be in the use we make of the products and the forces of nature, or the productions and the energies of men. If the justification of private property is that it tends to promote the common good through increased energy and increased efficiency, which is the antithesis of waste, then the broadest application of the principles of conservation should extend to our created as well as our natural resources, for in the last analysis the loss by fire of a city building owned by an individual will be just as

important to the people of the United States as the loss by fire of timber in the public domain. Both the building and the timber are assets of the nation. If they are destroyed these assets are wiped out. No system of taxation will serve to bring them back, whether this tax be collected by the constituted authorities under the law, or collected by private interests as premiums on policies of insurance. In either event, the taxation is paid by the owners of property and it is ultimately borne by the community as a whole. Reforestation costs money which must be levied through taxation in some form. Rebuilding a dwelling house, or a business block, or the business district of a city, costs money, a large proportion of which under insurance methods is assessed against property which has not burned. It is the people who pay, whether they own land or buildings or other things of value. It follows thus that the question of fire waste is of direct pecuniary interest to every citizen. Beyond the individual pecuniary interest, there is also the obligation of each citizen to his fellows to so protect his property and conduct his affairs as not to endanger the lives and property of his neighbors.

It is the duty of organized society to protect its members in life and property. But organized society, it is clearly shown, has been remiss in its duty. The obligations of municipal, state, and national government have not been met. I have been asked what, in my opinion, the National Government could do which might result in benefit to the citizens as a whole in securing a reduction in the enormous and disproportionate loss by fire in the United States. I would answer that Uncle Sam first of all should set the example by properly protecting that which is his. So far, he has not done his full duty in protecting our natural resources, but it must be admitted that in some respects he has been a careful and far-seeing guardian of his other property.

The United States Government is the owner of buildings costing more than \$300,000,000, and is spending each year more than \$20,000,000 in new buildings. It is the policy of the Government not to insure its buildings against loss by fire, but to reduce the risk of fire. Did it insure, its annual premium would amount to more than \$600,000. Calculating that it can take no unnecessary risk in these buildings, the Government, through its scientific bureaus, has made searching investigation into the combustible character of materials for use in construction work, and these investigations have not only been of immense value to the Government but, as their results are free to all, have benefited the whole country.

To state them briefly, these results have attracted attention to the necessity of developing cheaper fireproof materials, so that property owners may be encouraged to construct buildings that will better resist fire, and they also have shown the necessity of better building codes in cities, and especially of a better enforcement of the codes already enacted if the present great fire losses are to be diminished. Investigations point to the fact that fireproof buildings will be constructed at less expense in the future than in the past, and that the difference in cost between fireproof and inflammable buildings will soon cease to be an encouragement to flimsy construction.

The National Government is proceeding also to minimize possibilities

of fire in the national forests, the national parks, and the Indian reservations by more effective regulations—among them, regulations to check the starting of blazes by sparks from locomotive smokestacks. These regulations, with like regulations recently enacted by a number of states, have resulted in the invention of thousands of spark arresters. Almost daily the patent office is in receipt of new protective inventions of this character. The Bureau of Mines already has done notable work of an educational character to bring about a reduction of hazards from fire in mines. The government property afloat in the United States Navy, I learn, is most thoroughly protected from fire. The National Electrical Code is one set of your specifications of which I believe you are justly proud, and this code is rigidly enforced in connection with the electrical equipment of naval vessels.

Thus, by precept and example, it will be seen that the National Government is not lagging altogether in the work of fire prevention and fire protection. It can do more, though naturally its powers are limited as compared with those of the states, and its chief work very probably will be in the investigations and educational publications of its scientific bureaus, particularly of the Geological Survey, the Bureau of Mines, the Forest Service and the Bureau of Standards.

It is gratifying to note that Congress is awakening to the necessity of dealing with the question of fire waste. A few days ago, Representative Jackson, of Kansas, introduced a joint resolution providing for an investigation, under the direction of the President, "for the purpose of collecting statistical data relating to the loss of life and property by fire in the United States, the reasonableness of rates charged for fire insurance, and the relation of such rates to the causes of fire losses," and appropriating \$250,000 to meet the expenses of such investigation. This joint resolution is now before the House Appropriations Committee. During the closing session of the Sixty-first Congress, two bills were introduced dealing with the hazards of the ordinary phosphorous or parlor match. Two bills of similar nature have been introduced in the present Congress, one by Representative Esch and one by Representative Mann. Both are now before the Committee on Ways and Means.

A number of the states have enacted fire marshal laws during recent years. In one or two states we find measures covering the instruction of children in public schools on these topics. The question of fire inquests has been agitated in some sections, the idea being to attempt to fix the cause and blame for fire losses, similar to the practice in Germany where investigations of this sort follow from a tenant to owner, from owner to architect, from architect to builder, until the responsibility finally is determined. In the western timbered states very excellent laws are being worked out for the prevention of forest fires, but not yet have those states fully awakened to the necessity of making adequate appropriations for fire patrols of private or state-owned forest lands. State fire marshal laws should be found in more states than at present, should be more comprehensive, and should be more rigorously enforced, particularly with a view to covering the needs of the rural districts.

The Baltimore conflagration and the San Francisco disaster gave an

impetus to the movement toward fire protection in cities, where possibly we are relatively weakest of all. I understand that the National Board of Fire Underwriters has spent several hundred thousand dollars in sending corps of experts to report on the conflagration conditions in all of the larger cities, and has followed the work up by reports on many of the smaller. In these reports we naturally find prominently mentioned the necessity for adequate building laws, rigidly enforced. High pressure water systems for fire services have been installed in several of the larger cities, and have proven successful in a measure. I notice that some engineers are suggesting that the abnormal water damage sometimes occasioned by the use of these systems could be minimized by extending the systems to connect with building equipments, thus bringing the source of water supply either to or adjacent to the seat of the fire. Ordinances for safeguarding explosives and combustibles have been adopted in some of the cities. Investigations which have been made by the National Board of Fire Underwriters have focussed attention on one of the sources of failure, and that is, partisan politics in municipal fire departments. Wherever the tenure of office of responsible heads of city departments of public safety is not dependent upon election returns, the best results seem to have been achieved. In other words, where appointments of fire chiefs and fire marshals and firemen are dependent on merit rather than on political contingencies, the public receives a larger measure of protection. Men fully equipped for administrative duties in connection with fire departments and inspection forces cannot usually be obtained where tenure of office is limited to a period of two or four years.

When we consider the fact that our greatest losses in property and life by fire are within the cities, it becomes evident that we must look to the municipal governments chiefly for bettering conditions. It is estimated by the Geological Survey, from the statistics at hand, that nearly one half the value of all the new buildings constructed in the cities of the United States within one year is destroyed by fire. The reformation can be accomplished only by constant and consistent work for the passage and enforcement of improved building ordinances; for the perfection and carrying into effect of comprehensive plans for the removal of conflagration conditions; for the upbuilding of departments of public safety fully equipped with modern apparatus, and administered by trained and permanent forces; for the enactment and enforcement of ordinances which will safeguard explosives and combustibles; and for the installation of separate high pressure water systems for fire service where conditions warrant. I am reliably informed that there is not a city in the country which is not open to some improvement in its practices and methods relating to these subjects.

These are the things which must be done, but they cannot be accomplished without constant and widespread agitation. It takes the force of public opinion to accomplish any reform, and your association should receive hearty aid and encouragement, for through it much of the educational work which is a prerequisite to any successful agitation may be accomplished. There is a real and a vital necessity for teaching each citizen of the United States the significance of the national fire waste.

The truth in regard to our national ash heap should be brought home to each person having a family to protect and property to preserve.

It seems ridiculous that a people so apt and so eager to seek out and destroy the mysterious and hidden enemies of mankind, should be so slow and sluggish in fighting a foe so plainly in sight and so readily vanquished. We have led the world in seeking out the causes of pestilence and removing them. We are in the very vanguard of the battle against tuberculosis, typhoid and yellow fever, and still we stand apart and let the older nations lead the fight against an enemy much more easily conquered.

To arouse the people against the fire foe is our task. If there were any dispute as to the facts, if anyone opposed a movement to check the fire loss, the American people might more readily become partisans of this movement which you are leading. But there is no difference of opinion regarding the essentials. The average American citizen would admit that our fire waste is in the nature of a national disgrace. The task is to make him do something to remedy conditions. You must popularize your movement, and create a general demand for adequate laws and thorough enforcement. To relieve the people of the unnecessary burden which they are now carrying, you must teach them the importance and the significance of that burden. You must show them the necessity for a defence against this common enemy. Organized methods must be adopted for bringing the significance of the fire waste before every person who will read the written word or listen to the spoken one. Let the people once realize the exact facts of their own negligence, and they will be swift to provide the remedy. If, in the resulting benefits, the underwriter of fire insurance will share with the public at large—a feature which this Association has been far-seeing enough to understand—it will not diminish our obligations for your effective and public-spirited leadership.

Pol. Sci.

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REDUCING FIRE WASTE AND FIRE PREMIUMS IN ILLINOIS

The many disastrous theater and factory fires which have occurred in this country in the past few years have aroused the public at times to the need of proper precautions against such disasters, and attempts have been made to better conditions either by increasing Fire Department efficiency or by providing more stringent building regulations. These measures, however, have been more of an alleviative than of a preventive character, as, for example, in the provisions for adequate exits and fire escapes. There has, too, been a tendency to revert to the old conditions as soon as public attention has been diverted. As a consequence, however, of such fires as that which, on March 25, 1911, destroyed the Asch building in New York and cost the lives of 143 persons, a more sustained effort is now being made along preventive lines. Public officials are giving much attention to the question, and various popular magazines and the daily press are giving much space to the dissemination of information regarding fire waste and fire prevention. The prevention of loss of life and property from fire has also been taken up as a new phase of the conservation movement. A number of states, including Illinois, have set aside October 9, the anniversary of the Chicago fire, as an annual "Fire Prevention Day," on which public attention is to be directed to this problem.

On September 13, 1911, Governor Deen issued a proclamation setting aside October 9 for the observance of "Fire Prevention Day" in Illinois. In conformity with the intent of this proclamation the City Club on that date held a luncheon discussion devoted to fire prevention. Mr. Henry Ericsson, Building Commissioner of Chicago; Mr. W. C. Robinson, Chief Engineer of the Fire

Underwriters' Laboratories, and Mr. C. J. Doyle, State Fire Marshal, spoke. Their addresses are printed below. Mr. Frank D. Chase, Chairman of the City Club Committee on Fire Protection and Building Regulations, who presided, introduced Mr. Ericsson as the first speaker.

MR. FRANK D. CHASE: "Fire prevention ordinances will become more stringent as public sentiment demands it. We hope that, ultimately, our city ordinances will require all that is needful to decrease our fire losses to a minimum. In the meantime the rigid enforcement of existing ordinances, and the measure of benefit derived from such enforcement, rests with the Building Department and its head—the Building Commissioner. Chicago is fortunate in now having an able and efficient Building Commissioner. Mr. Ericsson is, however, not only a building expert but a fire prevention enthusiast, and has had several fire prevention days in his department, and plans for more. It is because of his interest in this work that Mr. Ericsson has consented to say a few words on fire prevention. I take pleasure in introducing Mr. Henry Ericsson, Building Commissioner."

Mr. Henry Ericsson

"One of the first things I did after I was made Building Commissioner was to send a warning to owners, agents and lessees of buildings, containing the essential provisions of the building ordinance so far as it pertained to fire prevention, including regulations relative to fire escapes, exit doors, etc. The notice ended by saying: 'You are legally, morally and financially responsible in case of failure to comply.' That little sentence has brought many owners and agents of buildings to my office to ask

what they must do to comply with the ordinance, and I have helped them along to the best of my ability.

"Every day since I took charge of the office we have sent out a stack of from twenty-five to seventy-five notices to owners and agents of buildings to erect fire escapes, put in exit doors, or fix handrails on the stairways, or to do other things to prevent fires, or to render them less hazardous. I keep a stack of those notices to look at when I feel downhearted; when I look at that pile I feel that I have done something at least.

"I think it is proper on this day to repeat an old saying you have all heard: 'An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure.' A couple of hundred dollars put into a good fire escape on a building may be worth the price of the whole building in a very short time. It also tends to relieve the owner and agent of liability in case of loss of life in a fire.

The Chief Causes of Fire

"In a letter which I prepared to send to the Club when I thought I would be unable to attend this meeting I outlined the following chief causes of fires.

"1. Careless and indiscriminate use of matches and cigarettes.

"2. Crossed electric wires and defective electrical equipment.

"3. Careless handling and storage of gasoline and other oils.

"4. Overheated furnaces and stoves, and defective flue pipes.

"5. Spontaneous combustion in coal bunkers, oil rags and waste.

"6. Metal smoke pipes in contact with or near wood ceilings and partitions.

"7. Depositing of hot ashes upon wooden floors or against wooden walls.

"8. Accumulations of waste paper, excelsior and rubbish on premises.

"Business firms ought to get out printed warnings and instructions in regard to fire prevention and have them posted on every floor of their buildings. Every two or three months employes should receive special instructions upon this subject. Drunkenness on the part of engineers, firemen, janitors and watchmen should be carefully guarded against. The study of fire prevention should be introduced in the public schools.

"Twenty-five feet of garden hose connected to a good hydrant is worth a

whole mile of insurance. There are many inexpensive precautions of this sort that would be of great value in reducing the losses due to fire.

"Along with other desirable legislation, I would like to have an ordinance passed compelling the installation of inside instead of outside fire escapes. These fire escapes should be entirely independent of the rest of the structure, so that the people inside would be protected no matter what might happen to the rest of the building. Even if the roof should fall in everybody would be saved if the tower were built so as to stand by itself. There is no question about the practicability of constructing such a tower escape.

"We should also build more fireproof buildings. Since lumber is so expensive and cement and clay products are so cheap, an added expenditure of ten or fifteen per cent. would build a fireproof structure." (Applause.)

MR. CHASE: "There are many men and many organizations engaged in the work of fire protection and fire prevention. Prominent among them, and unique in its work, is the Underwriters' Laboratories, Inc., located at 207 East Ohio street, Chicago. A visit to the Underwriters' Laboratories, which you should make if you have not already done so, would show the inestimable value of the work which is there being carried on. Mr. W. C. Robinson, Chief Engineer of these laboratories, one of the most active members of the National Fire Protection Association, and who, by virtue of study, experiment and investigation, holds a Master's degree in the science of fire protection and prevention, will now address you."

Mr. W. C. Robinson

"The chairman has taken my opening remarks away from me. The establishment of the Underwriters' Laboratories is one of the efforts of the National Board of Fire Underwriters toward the reduction of loss of life and property by fire. You can, perhaps, appreciate that there is a necessity for the establishment of a central testing station wherein all of the various problems relating to the fire hazard can be worked out on the basis of actual data pertinent to the subject.

"The work of the laboratories is passed upon by a council of some

twenty-five members from various insurance organizations located from Boston to San Francisco. It sometimes happens that the laboratories send out a report which is objected to by some persons, so you can readily see that when these recommendations are submitted to men so widely separated, many of whom have inspection corps of from ten to fifty men in their employ and who are in actual touch with the conditions as they exist in the various cities, any mistakes are promptly checked up.

"The laboratories have divided their work into three general classes:

"*First*—Tests of devices and materials which create a fire hazard in the building or on the property.

"*Second*—Investigation of apparatus which is designed to extinguish or retard fire.

"*Third*—Investigation of materials and devices which enter into buildings and which are designed to extinguish or to retard the spread of fire when once started.

Fire Hose Investigation

"Aside from these subjects—which I may place as the routine class of our business—we take up from time to time special investigations. For instance, about a year and a half ago we were told to look into the subject of fire hose. We examined over fifty brands of fire hose secured from cities from San Francisco to New York, and found that the very arteries through which our fire departments were expected to convey the water to the fire were in a very questionable and wretched condition. The Underwriters' Laboratories, after further examination, drew up specifications for the proper construction of fire hose. That involved an expenditure on our part of some \$5,000. When we presented these specifications we were informed by the hose manufacturers that we were theoretical and impracticable, and that no reputable hose company would consider making the material under these specifications. But they did not tell us why. We continued to advocate the specifications, and I am pleased to say that Chicago was the first city to throw out the old and questionable specifications and to adopt the new. It has secured as its first order about 10,000 feet of hose that is made of the very best materials obtainable. Since that time about 100,000 feet have been sold

in other cities—and that in only two or three months. Today I am informed that St. Louis bought 15,000 feet and Kansas City 5,000 feet, and that orders are advertised in this city for 20,000 feet more. The importance of that work alone, gentlemen, is almost inconceivable. Your entire fire department is absolutely dependent upon this flexible end of the waterworks system, namely, the hose.

"One other investigation which is now being initiated relates to the determination of the ability of the main structural members of a building to withstand fire. That work is going on in conjunction with the Mutual Companies of Boston. We are now erecting a \$20,000 addition to our plant in which to conduct these tests. It is a strange fact that, although progress in building construction has been marked, the actual efficiency of the various methods of protecting the columns—the main structural members of a building—is a matter of diversified opinion and dispute.

"This is only one of the many efforts which the insurance people are making in this direction. Many others, no doubt, are just as important. As a result of my nine years' experience in this city, I do not believe the property owners really appreciate what the inspectors of the Chicago Board of Underwriters are doing toward the reduction of fire losses. I have had enough experience to know and to see conditions existing in the State street stores that jeopardize the lives of thousands of people. They still exist, but attention is now being called to them by the inspectors. If that system of inspection should be taken away you would notice in a very short time a very great increase in your fire losses." (Applause.)

MR. CHASE: "The Governor deserves credit for the issuance of his 'Fire Prevention Day' proclamation, and its good effects will be far-reaching; but he did one other thing, last July, which will do as much and more toward stimulating a statewide interest in and knowledge of the science of fire prevention in his appointment of Mr. C. J. Doyle as State Fire Marshal. Mr. Doyle is an enthusiastic 'fire preventionist'—if I may coin a word—and enthusiasts do things and get other people to do things. I take pleasure in introducing Mr. Doyle, State Fire Marshal."

Mr. C. J. Doyle

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the City Club: I assure you that it is a great pleasure as well as a great privilege for me to have this opportunity of being with you today and presenting, as best I can, the relation of the State Fire Marshal's office to the reduction of the fire waste and other fire problems in the State of Illinois. It is true, as your chairman has stated, that the Governor, on the first of July last, appointed your speaker to the office of State Fire Marshal. It is a new department in this state and I happen to be, therefore, the first State Fire Marshal. Over at East St. Louis the other night the chairman of the meeting, a smart Irishman, introduced me as the 'best' Fire Marshal that Illinois ever had. He also said, among other things, that he hoped that when the record of my term of office was made up, and even when the hour of the last day had come and the friends gathered round because my earthly career was closed, some thoughtful friend would inscribe this sort of an epitaph: 'Here lies Illinois' first State Fire Marshal. Gone to his last fire.'

"My friends, it so happened that last year I occupied the position of President of the Fire Marshals' Association of the United States and Canada. That convention met in the city of Chicago. I had the privilege and the honor at that time of introducing in convention a resolution looking to a fire prevention day in every state in the Union, as well as in every province of Canada. I did not think at that time that that resolution would ever reach the magnitude within a few months that it appears to have reached throughout this country. Governor Deneen was one of the first of the Governors to issue a proclamation setting aside an annual 'Fire Prevention Day' and sixteen other Governors have done the same. Six of them, following the precedent of Governor Deneen, set October 9, the fortieth anniversary of the great Chicago fire, as the day. Governor Deneen believed that by setting that date for the observance of 'Fire Prevention Day' conspicuous attention could be called to the great fire waste.

"Forty years ago this afternoon, in this city, started the great fire that all the civilized world has known since that time—the great Chicago fire of 1871. So we meet here today, we of a younger

generation, giving thought to this great problem on the anniversary of the great fire which stands out so conspicuously in all of the great conflagrations of this country.

A New Form of Conservation

"The office of the State Fire Marshal has to deal especially with the problem of reducing fire waste. You have heard of the attention given to the subject of conservation within the last few years by the national Congress, the various State Legislatures, and the magazines and newspapers of the country. You have heard of conservation of water, conservation of timber, conservation of coal, conservation of minerals, in order that succeeding generations in this country may enjoy some of those blessings which we ourselves have enjoyed. The conservation of those things is indeed essential in this country and should be uppermost in the minds of our people; but I want to say before this City Club of Chicago this afternoon that the greatest conservation problem confronting the citizens of Illinois and the citizens of the United States today is the conservation of our own property from the red plague of fire. It is an even greater conservation than the conservation of our natural resources. Why? Because water and timber and coal and the minerals have never cost man one single moment's time, one single act of energy, or one penny of his money. We found these things in their natural state. But whenever a building is burned in this country it represents time, it represents energy, it represents money. Whenever the fire bell sounds the alarm that a building is being burned in this country, that much time, that much money, and that much energy is taken out of the world, and can never be regained as long as the old world stands.

"More than that, it is important for you to know that for many years past our people have gone along reasoning that they could build and they could burn and build again and burn again, and that the fire insurance companies were footing the bills. There could never be a greater mistake in the way of reasoning than to reason or attempt to reason from that basis. The fire insurance company is nothing more than an agency to take your money and mine and pay it to San Francisco; take your money and pay it

to Baltimore, or Chicago, or Kansas City. Fire insurance companies simply take your money in premiums and pay it for the fire losses of the country, so that it is wrong to reason that when it is announced that Mr. Jones had a fire last night and his building worth \$10,000 was destroyed, that, because there was \$8,000 insurance, there was only \$2,000 loss to the community. My friends, the entire \$10,000 was lost to the community at large and is taken out of the world forever.

"A loss by fire is an irretrievable one, and the people of the country pay this enormous bill.

An Agency for Fire Protection

"Through all the ages, especially the civilized ages, there have been two great personal propositions, the first of which is that a man has the right to the enjoyment of health and the protection of his health. Many states of the Union have created state boards of health to deal especially with the problems of disease and to protect our people from the great plagues of disease. You know that those departments working especially along that line by authority of the law, having the right of quarantine and isolation, having authority to cause better sanitary conditions, have protected the lives and the health of our people. And so recently some states, looking to the protection of property, with the same idea in view, have created what is known as a 'State Fire Marshal's Department,' which has to do with the reduction of the fire waste—

"*First*, by empowering that department with the authority to investigate and to prosecute all persons alleged to be guilty of the crime of arson or its kindred crimes.

"*Second*, by a judicious inspection of buildings and the removal of extra hazardous conditions that might be the cause of burning those buildings, and endangering the lives of the inmates of those buildings.

"*Third*, by a campaign of publicity and education along the line of conferring with such bodies as we have here today, with the various city and village councils throughout the state, and securing the enactment of better and more ideal building laws and ordinances and the prevention of the construction of buildings within fire limits of a dangerous character. The State Fire Marshal is

made by law the supervisor of all prosecutions in every county of this state for the crime of incendiarism and arson.

"It has been stated that the Fire Marshal's Department of this state commenced actual and practical operations upon the first day of July. Consequently, when we opened the department we found a large number of alleged incendiary or 'crooked' fires in this state, which had to be investigated. Inasmuch as nearly all of the grand juries of the country counties meet early in the months of September, October and November, the attention of this department has for the past two months been especially directed to the investigation of alleged incendiary fires. I have to say to you gentlemen that I believe, and as a citizen of this state I regret to make the statement, that Illinois has been for many years past and is today the very hotbed of incendiarism in this country.

Crime of Arson Not Punished

"Ohio, which has had a State Fire Marshal's Department for the past eleven years, last year sent to the penitentiary for the crimes of arson, incendiarism and their kindred crimes forty-six men. How many do you suppose were sent from Illinois? From the one hundred and two counties of our state there were just four men convicted. Two went to Joliet and two to Chester. During the month of August, the second month of the operation of the State Fire Marshal's Department, we bound over to the various grand juries eighteen men and women for the crime of arson and incendiarism in Illinois, more than four times as many as were convicted in the whole twelve months of last year. Why? Are the State's Attorneys of Illinois less efficient than those of Ohio? No. The State's Attorneys of this state are the equal, if not the superior, of any body of State's Attorneys in the Union, but they have had neither the time, nor the men, nor the funds to properly investigate these fires and run down and convict those guilty of incendiarism and arson. They have been supposed to try everything from mumblepeg to manslaughter without funds in many of the country counties, while the State Fire Marshal's Department deals with one crime only.

"I say to you gentlemen, too, that the State Fire Marshal's Department does

not cease its work even if the insurance companies have adjusted the loss. If it be reported to the Fire Marshal's office from an authentic source that that fire is a crooked one, this department will pursue it and prosecute it so long as we believe the individual is guilty of the crime, even though the insurance companies, as I say, have made an adjustment.

A 'Firebug' at Work

"I have to call your attention to one noticeable instance in the neighboring county of Will. About two years ago there came into that community a man by the name of Emory A. Lawrence. He came from the East, a suave, Chesterfieldian man in manner, a good business man, high in social circles; he rented a palatial home that was formerly the home of Judge Goodspeed in the suburbs of Joliet. He furnished this home with tapestries, oriental rugs and other luxuries. In due time a fire occurred. The insurance on those furnishings—he did not own the home—was carried by three companies in the city of Chicago. They went down and made an adjustment of the loss. He stood so high in social circles, was so prominent in the church and in business circles, that these companies seemed to think it a great privilege, as well as a great honor, to pay over to Mr. Lawrence \$10,000 in cash. That was in February. About six weeks ago there came a report to the Fire Marshal's Department at Springfield that, notwithstanding the reputed high standard of citizenship represented by Mr. Lawrence, the fire was a 'crooked' one. Notwithstanding the fact that the insurance companies had paid their bills, we started an investigation, and within a day after our man arrived in Joliet, Mr. Lawrence and his wife left. We continued our search and investigation, and it finally developed that a shipment had been made two days before the fire in Joliet, of certain things into a storage house in the city of Chicago. We followed the goods in here, we recovered them upon a search warrant, and took them back to Will County. When the boxes were opened we found between \$3,000 and \$5,000 worth of the tapestries and oriental goods that Mr. Lawrence had received his money for, that the insurance companies had paid for, but were never a part of that fire. As I say,

Mr. Lawrence and his wife left. The last we heard of them they were at Evanston; they left there under the names of George A. Wilson and wife of Springfield, Illinois. This department, however, afterward secured his record; we found that this man, who was received with open arms in society and business circles in Joliet, had served five years in the penitentiary in Massachusetts for the crime of incendiarism and arson.

"Governor Deneen has offered a public reward of \$200 for his capture, and I want to say to you if I happen to be the State Fire Marshal, and if he ever gets back in the commonwealth, we will try to do for him as much as the commonwealth of Massachusetts did for him.

The Wastefulness of Fire

"My friends, the problem of conservation today, as I suggested, is one of the greatest problems before our people. Last year more than \$235,000,000 worth of property was destroyed by fire in this country. If every building which was burned last year could be placed upon a lot of 65 feet frontage, it would form a street reaching from the city of Chicago to the city of New York, and at every thousand feet of that desolate street of charred and blackened ruins you would find a crippled person, and at every three-quarters of a mile you would find a lifeless body of some one who was sacrificed to the red plague of fire in this country.

"Of that tremendous waste Illinois bore \$11,000,000. Last year the fire waste in the State of Illinois was \$1,000,000 more than in the preceding year, and, while the year 1910 in the United States reached the high-water mark so far as losses by fire were concerned, yet the first five months of this year we were \$30,000,000 in excess of the fire waste in the year 1910.

"Is it any wonder that such meetings as this should be held? Is it any wonder that the various agencies employed throughout the country to spread the campaign of publicity and education should be at work? And I want to emphasize as best I can what your chairman has said, that in the city of Chicago in the Underwriters' Laboratories represented by Mr. Robinson today, you have one of the greatest agencies for the

spreading of this campaign of publicity and education and of fire prevention work of any agency in all the civilized world.

"You say, 'How long must we stand this? Is there any other country under God's shining sun that could stand this tremendous drain upon its resources except the United States?' Your answer must be that that is absolutely true. Why has there not been an earlier awakening? Because we have found timber and other building materials in its primitive state at our doors. We have builded and we have burned, and we have builded and we have burned again, and we have all been engaged in the making of money in various ways, and our properties have been destroyed; but we have gone upon the theory that the fire insurance companies paid the bills. My friends, the men who pay the fire insurance premiums pay these bills, and the way to reduce fire insurance premiums in the State of Illinois is to reduce the fire waste in the State of Illinois.

Stringent Regulations in Berlin

"In addition to that, the question comes to us, Has any other country given thought to this? Yes, all of the European nations are many, many steps in advance of the United States in the matter of the conservation of their property from the red plague of fire. This is notably true in Germany; every fire in the empire of Germany is made a crime *per se*. That is to say, if you have a fire in your home or your business in the city of Berlin, you are charged with a crime, and you must prove conclusively to the authorities of the city of Berlin that you are in no wise responsible either by carelessness or design—get the 'carelessness.' If you are responsible either by carelessness or by design you cannot collect one dollar of your insurance. More than that, if you or your servants are by carelessness or design responsible for that fire, you must also pay for the time of the fire department engaged in putting it out. And, thirdly, they invoke what is known in this country as the common-law rule, that if by carelessness or design you are responsible for the burning of your neighbor's property you must pay for that, too.

"Last year, in the city of New York, a young man threw a lighted cigarette stub into some cotton clippings, and the

result was that 126 lives were lost and nearly a quarter of a million dollars' worth of property destroyed. What do you suppose they would do with that young man over in Germany? Here the young man is still at large and can light more cigarettes and throw the stubs around in more shirtwaist factories if he is so inclined. I do not want it understood that I believe that in this country at this stage we can enact the stringent laws on fire waste that they have in Germany; but I want to call your attention to the difference in its working, gentlemen. Last year, in the city of Berlin, which is of about equal size to Chicago, the fire waste was less than \$200,000; during the same period of time we burned more than \$6,000,000 worth of property in Chicago.

"The city of Buffalo, in New York State, last year had a greater fire waste than London, the largest city in the world; and the city of Chicago had a fire waste nine times that of the city of Paris. Why? Why are the European cities so advanced? Because, on account of their dense population, they are 'consuming nations.' The more our population increases and the more our natural resources diminish and we become a consuming nation, the more thought will we give to the reduction of the fire waste.

Reduction of Fire Waste Possible in Illinois

"I believe that the Fire Marshal's office of this state, working in the three great channels laid before it, has the proper opportunity of reducing the fire waste to a minimum in this state. I have my heart set on the work, and my ambition is that, with the campaign now being carried on, the fire waste in Illinois may, unless we have a great conflagration, be reduced during the first year of the operation of the State Fire Marshal's Department by at least ten per cent. The reduction of the fire waste by that amount should mean a substantial reduction of the fire premiums to the people of this state.

"I want to call your attention to another thing about the Illinois law. Notwithstanding the fact that the people who pay the premiums for this immense burden have the benefit of the operation of the department, the taxpayers of this state do not pay one penny for its support. The Fire Marshal's Department

is under the supervision of the state, but, as in Ohio and other states, it receives its revenue from an assessment of one-fourth of one per cent against the fire insurance companies' gross receipts in this state. Out of the funds so received is paid all of the expense for the maintenance of the State Fire Marshal's Department. Therefore, the people do not pay by taxation for the maintenance of this department, as they pay for every other state department, but they receive whatever benefit may accrue from its work.

"I believe that the first great work in this department is the investigation and prosecution of crimes of arson. After those things have been accomplished, after the fear of the law has been properly instilled into the hearts of those men who are committing incendiarism, or arson, we can give greater time and attention to the work of inspection and the removal of hazards. But I believe that the first task is to have a thorough understanding with the 'firebug' of this country, whether he is working individually or collectively, whether he belongs to a little or a big conspiracy, or to a little or a big arson trust.

A Dangerous Combination

"I believe that the meanest man today in all the commonwealth of Illinois is the man who burns his property for reward. Ordinarily he comes into the community, rents a little shack, puts in some goods a part of which he intends to burn and a part of which to move away, and sets fire to the building without regard to the lives or property of others. I have discovered, among other things, while I have been State Fire Marshal, in going over my chemistry lessons again, that the greatest danger, Mr. Building Commissioner, from spontaneous combustion is between a heavy insurance policy and a light stock of goods.

"My friends, you have your Board of Health to say to the man whose place is insanitary, who is breeding smallpox, who is breeding typhoid fever, who is going to contaminate the community at large, 'You must clean up these premises.' If you have a contagious disease, you must remain in quarantine until you

have recovered, because the community at large must not suffer. I believe that you also have the right to the enjoyment of your property, and that there ought to be vested in some authority, like that of the State Fire Marshal, the power to say to a man who comes into a community, rents a little bit of a tumble-down shack, puts in a small stock of goods, takes out a big insurance policy and gets ready for his fire: 'You shall not permit these conditions to obtain upon these premises. You shall not permit defective wiring to obtain upon these premises. You shall not permit that stove pipe to run through a wooden partition. You shall not permit the things which are going to endanger the lives and property of the community at large.' And to say to Mr. 'Firebug,' whether he works single-handed and alone, or whether he works in company, that there is a special department which will make his trail a devious one leading down the path until, if he stays in Illinois, he must take up his location either in Chester or in Joliet. I say to you further, my friends, that it does not make a particle of difference to me, so long as I happen to remain at the head of this department, whether or not there is insurance upon a building; whether or not it is burned for revenge or reward. In either case I have this to say to the insurance companies, that when we believe in our department that a loss is a 'crooked' one, they shall not use this department as a means to compromise or whittle down their claim. But, once a 'crooked' loss is discovered, we want them to stay off of it until the highest court in the State of Illinois says that the man is not a 'firebug.'

"I say to you also that, no matter whether the authority under the law at this time justifies it, other Legislatures, if this work is properly done, will strengthen the hands of a good officer and a good department as they have done in the State of Ohio. I sincerely hope that when the record of the first year of this department shall have been made up the City Club of Chicago, the citizens of Chicago, and the citizens of this state, will be glad that they have a department looking after the reduction of this tremendous fire waste in Illinois, and conserving the properties of our people. I thank you." (Applause.)

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MUNICIPAL COURT BILLS

The two bills passed by the last legislature, the first providing for the introduction of civil service among municipal court employes and raising the salaries of judges and certain officers of the court, and the second providing for changes in procedure in the court and a similar increase in salaries, with some additions, are to be voted on at the judicial election on November 7 next. Objections have been made to both of the bills by the press and by civic organizations on account of their confusion of the salary increase with the other matters to be voted upon. The Chicago and Illinois Civil Service Reform Associations have approved the civil service measure, though disapproving the inclusion of unrelated matters of this sort in a single bill; it has condemned the revision bill. The Chicago Bureau of Public Efficiency, on October 30, issued a statement condemning both bills on the ground of their failure to present a clear issue to the voters, on the ground of the blind character of the questions as put upon the ballot, and on the ground that, in the opinion of the Bureau, all salary increases should have been left to the discretion of the city council, the proper appropriating body of the city.

Both sides of this controversy were presented at a luncheon discussion before the City Club on Tuesday, October 31, Chief Justice Harry Olson, of the municipal court, favoring the bills; Mr. Sigmund Zeisler, representing the Chicago and Illinois Civil Service Reform Associations, favoring the civil service bill and opposing the revision bill, and Mr. George C. Sikes, opposing both Prof. Charles E. Merriam and Hon. Noble B. Judah, Jr., state representative from the First Senatorial District, also participated in the discussion, the former opposing the bills, the latter reviewing

the history of the civil service measure in the conference committee of which he was a member.

Mr. F. B. Johnstone, who presided, opened the discussion as follows:

Mr. F. B. Johnstone

"One week from today you will be called upon to vote upon two propositions affecting the Municipal Court. In order that you may have clearly in mind what you are voting on, I will read the questions as they will appear on the ballot. There were two acts passed by the legislature last June, one on June 9th and one on June 10th. They were both referred to the people to be voted on at the next election, and they both come up for approval on November 7th next. The first question on the ballot is as follows:

For consenting to an Act entitled "An Act to amend Sections 8, 15 and 17 of an Act entitled 'An Act in relation to a municipal court in the city of Chicago,' approved May 18, 1905, in force July 1, 1905", submitted to the voters of the city of Chicago at the election held November 7, 1905, and adopted and as amended by Act approved June 3, 1907, in force July 1, 1907; adopted at election held September 17, 1907, and to further amend said Act, as amended by adding thereto two additional sections, to be known respectively as sections 14a and 14b, which Act provides among other things, for civil service in the municipal court.

"Undoubtedly after listening to that you are abundantly informed as to the contents of the act. The other is equally informatory:

For consenting to the act entitled, "An Act to amend an Act entitled 'An Act in relation to a municipal court in the city of Chicago,' approved May 18, 1905, as amended by an act approved June 3, 1907, entitled 'An Act to amend an Act entitled 'An Act in relation to a municipal court in the city of Chicago,' approved May 18, 1905.'"

"In the City Club we have a desire

for a little further information regarding these acts, and our first speaker today is a gentleman who is peculiarly well qualified to speak in regard to them. It had been intended that Mr. Chief Justice Olson would first address you, but owing to the fact that he has just left the bench, we have reversed the order of speakers. I take great pleasure in presenting to you Mr. George C. Sikes, who will speak upon these pending bills." (Applause.)

Mr. George C. Sikes

"I am against both measures and think that they ought to be defeated. As I have been sitting here I have been talking with Professor Merriam, and I find that he is of the same opinion that I am, and I want to cut my remarks somewhat short in order that there may be a few minutes for Professor Merriam at some stage of these proceedings to give his opinion on these bills. He was a member of the charter convention, and knows what the members of the charter convention had in mind. They especially wanted the municipal judges elected at some other time than the fall election, when the partisan spirit runs high. I will leave the discussion of that part of this matter to Professor Merriam.

"The Chairman has read the questions. You see from the reading that the questions do not indicate what these bills really carry. That is one of my criticisms against both of them. Their chief purpose, the raising of salaries, is not stated in the titles. The question of raising the salaries of the judges of the municipal court might be, under some circumstances, a debatable one, but it seems to me that this particular salary-raising project is hardly debatable. The city council has power under the present law to raise the salaries of the municipal court judges and of the other employes of the court, and if the time comes when we should raise the salaries of these officials, the body to which appeal should be made is the city council. I insist that it is contrary to the spirit of municipal home rule, for which we should stand in this city, that the legislature should arbitrarily impose certain salaries upon us without giving us any chance to compare the salaries received in that line with the salaries received in other lines.

"These two bills, taken together, will add absolutely, at the minimum, over \$90,000 to the expenses of the city, and the possible increase will be considerably over \$150,000.

"Where is this money to come from, and what is to be the effect of these increases in salary? We all know the straitened condition of the city at this time. It is hard up. It is not able to clean the streets, it is not able to cart away the garbage, it is not able to do a number of things properly because of the lack of money. And here, by one sweep, if we adopt the acts, we are to take over \$125,000 out of the city treasury. I insist that that is not right.

Council Should Fix Salaries

"If the time has come to ask higher salaries for the municipal court judges and the chief clerk and the chief bailiff we should go to the city council and let the city council measure the needs of this branch of the service against other needs of the city, in order to see whether the raises can be afforded or not.

"The legislature has been boosting salaries right along and we have not had any chance to protest before. The legislature has raised the salaries of the coroner, the clerk of the criminal court and the clerk of the superior court and the clerk of the circuit court and of other officers, making the pay \$9,000 a year. I insist there is no excuse for such large salaries. The last legislature also raised the salaries of the members of the sanitary district, for which, I insist, there is no excuse. The legislature has done this without submitting the matters to the people. But we have a chance to vote against the municipal court raises on a referendum, and it seems to me that we ought to enter our protest now against this whole salary-raising process, especially salary raising from Springfield.

"There is another aspect of this matter. We nominate judges as partisans, and we elect them on partisan tickets. This is all wrong. You know how it was for several years with respect to the municipal court. The Republican candidates were all elected. The only exception was when there was a negro on the ticket. The last time the Democratic ticket went through in its entirety, and

it is my judgment that the Democratic ticket a year from this fall will also be elected in its entirety. The argument about getting better judges by raising salaries, it seems to me, does not apply in the present situation, because the merits of the candidates cut very little figure. The nominees on the successful party ticket will be elected, regardless of individual merits.

"I have the highest respect for the chief justice of the municipal court. I think he ought to be kept at the head of that court, and if I had my way he would be elected and re-elected for several terms. I wish to use his case as an illustration. I assume that Judge Olson will be renominated as a Republican. The party with which I affiliate and with which I vote, when I can, will nominate some person who may not be well qualified for judge. The way things look at this time that person will be elected, not because he ought to be, not because he is as well qualified as the other man, but simply because his name will appear on the winning party ticket. Making the salary larger under present conditions will not insure better judges.

"Now, I insist that the prime thing before us is to take care of this situation and create a condition under which we shall elect the best men before we consider the raising of salaries.

"The second act provides for changes in procedure. I do not understand what they are. I take it that they are not so important that we need to accept the salary raises in order to get them.

Civil Service at a Price

"The first act provides for civil service, in which we all believe, of course. It seems to me that we ought not to allow our devotion to civil service reform to be played upon, however, to bring about something that we ought not to have. Of course the question of civil service as a whole is very important, but civil service for the employes of the municipal court, numbering only about 260, is not so important that we ought to overlook these other things. Civil service sentiment is strong enough in this community so that we can go back to the legislature again and get a civil service law standing alone without anything else tied to it. So far as the pres-

ent situation is concerned, I do not know that it is so very important to adopt civil service right away in order to throw the protection of the civil service law around Tom Hunter's spoils appointees. It would not be much loss if we waited until another bailiff were elected and we had a new crowd in office before we threw the protection of the civil service around the municipal court employes. So it seems to me that the civil service feature of this act, while desirable, is not of enough importance to offset the objections to the salary increases, to the methods of the salary increases or to cause us to raise these salaries before we have made provision for the improvement of the judiciary." (Applause.)

CHAIRMAN JOHNSTONE: "Gentlemen, I think it is almost safe to predict that there is a difference of opinion regarding the merits of these two bills. As Mr. Sikes has pointed out the situation in a nutshell, there are three matters involved—procedural reform, which is a good thing; civil service, which is a good thing, and higher salaries, which are, of course, good things. The trouble is that we cannot have procedural reform without having higher salaries, and we cannot have civil service without having higher salaries. Now, one of the bodies in Chicago that is intensely interested in one of these acts, the one which provides for civil service, is the Chicago Civil Service Reform Association, and we are extremely fortunate in having present today a man who will speak on behalf of that association, a distinguished citizen, both at home and abroad. It is a privilege, gentlemen, to introduce Mr. Sigmund Zeisler." (Applause.)

Mr. Sigmund Zeisler

"Last November the people of Illinois gave to the legislature a clear mandate to extend the merit system in the civil service so as to give it state-wide application. In a very large measure this mandate was carried out. Among other statutes on the subject, the legislature passed one by which all subordinate officials and employes of the municipal court of Chicago were placed under the rule and protection of the city civil service law. If the statute had stopped

there, there would be no occasion for this discussion. Its adoption by the people would be favored by all good citizens and would be a foregone conclusion. But the statute did not stop there.

"The sentiment of this community on the subject of civil service reform has been tested on numerous occasions. It has been uniformly found that an overwhelming majority of the people favor the merit system as opposed to the spoils system. The professional politicians, on the other hand, have, generally speaking, fought this reform. A majority of the members of the legislature have always been bitterly opposed to it. It was like pulling teeth to get from the legislature any concession to the cause of this great reform. Public opinion was so strong, however, that the legislature had to yield. But it yielded reluctantly. It did not always yield gracefully. In some instances in the history of civil service reform legislation in this state the legislature gave us a quarter of a loaf or a half a loaf when we had demanded and were entitled to a whole loaf. And in the case of the municipal court civil service bill, the legislature amused itself by putting in a joker in the form of a provision for the increase of the salaries of the judges and of some of the employes of the court—an increase of the salary of the chief justice from \$7,500 to \$10,000, and of the salary of each associate justice from \$6,000 to \$9,000. Now, if there was an great outcry on the part of the people generally for an increase in these salaries, it has failed to reach our ears. If, without such an outcry, the legislature considered it just and proper that these salaries be increased, there was no reason why this matter should not have been dealt with in a separate bill. Why did not the legislature choose this latter course? The motive is as clear as daylight. No act amending the municipal court statute can become effective unless it is ratified by the voters of Chicago at an election. The legislature, knowing that the people cannot be enthused by a proposal to increase their taxes, and especially to do so by increasing salaries, was afraid that if the proposal to increase salaries was submitted to the people as an independent measure it might be rejected. Knowing

also the deep feeling of the people in favor of extending the application of the civil service law to all positions which are not yet under its beneficent rule, the legislature figured that linking the provision for the salary increase with the provision for bringing the court employes under the merit system would insure its adoption; that the people would not reject this concession to the civil service cause even though, in order to get the benefit thereof, they would have to swallow the pill of a salary increase.

A Tricky Ballot

"The action of the legislature in this regard was a palpable trick deserving of the severest condemnation. Nor is this all. The form of the ballot to be used in voting upon this measure is prescribed in the act. This ballot is eloquently silent on the salary increase. It is utterly innocent of any reference to it. After giving the title of the act, which title conveys no information as to its provisions, it proceeds as follows:

Which Act provides, among other things, for Civil Service in the Municipal Court.

"That is all. The civil service bait is artfully made to dangle before our eyes. The salary increase hook is carefully concealed. As to the intent to deceive, there can be no manner of doubt. So much for the methods of the legislature and for its motive in framing the act in the form in which it is submitted to the people. Let us now take a look at the merits of the proposition.

"It would be carrying coal to Newcastle to argue to this audience the great importance of placing the employes of the municipal court under the provisions of the city civil service act. They are now 258 in number. Their number is bound to increase with the growth of the city and the increase of the business of the court. That employes who have learned their duties at the expense of the public should not, in case a chief bailiff or chief clerk of the opposite political party is elected, be kicked out merely to make room for the henchmen of the bosses of the victorious party; that merit and not the ability to carry a precinct should be the qualification for these positions; that purity of elections is impossible of attainment so long as

any considerable number of non-elective positions are treated as spoils of political victory, goes without saying. The civil service provisions of the act in question must therefore be set down as a positive gain of great importance.

Salary Increase for Judges Advocated

"What about the increase of the salaries of the judges? It is quite true that most of the present incumbents of these positions are, from the standpoint of present ability and previous standing and experience at the bar, sufficiently paid by the salaries they now receive. But this is largely due to the fact that the small salaries provided by the original act have failed to attract lawyers of high standing, and that the very smallness of these salaries has deprived the office of municipal court judge of the dignity which it deserves to be given. It is sometimes said that the salary of \$10,000 paid to the judges of the circuit and superior courts has not prevented men of mediocre ability and little standing at the bar from being elected to positions in these courts. Alas, this is true. But it is equally true that men of very high standing seek places on the superior and circuit benches, but that none such can be even induced to run for the municipal court. Such men as Frank Baker, Jesse A. Baldwin, E. O. Brown, Thomas G. Windes, William H. McSurely, Thomas C. Clark and many others mostly ably serving the people in those courts could not be tempted, as things now stand, to accept a certificate of election to the municipal court. There is no other reason for it except the smallness of the salary.

"It might be replied that the salary of a federal district judge is only \$6,000 and that of a federal circuit judge only \$7,000, and that still these positions do not fail to attract men of great ability and high standing. But there is all the difference in the world between the dignity of a federal judgeship and that of a local judgeship. The fact that the number of these federal judges is comparatively so small, that they are appointed by the President with the consent of the Senate, and that their jurisdiction covers a great territory, that the cases tried before them are almost all of great importance, and that as a matter of his-

tory and tradition they have with rare exceptions been lawyers of great ability and selected from among the leaders of the bar of their respective communities—all these facts have given to the federal judgeships an importance and a dignity which have made them attractive in spite of the small salaries attached to them.

Importance of Good Municipal Judges

"Now, as an abstract proposition and entirely apart from the present incumbents of the municipal court bench, is there any good reason why the salary of a judge of the municipal court should be smaller than the salary of a judge of the circuit court? In the five years of its existence the municipal court has become one of tremendous importance. Its jurisdiction in contract cases is co-equal with that of the circuit and superior courts. By an interpretation of the supreme court, suits for personal injuries suffered by passengers of public carriers have been placed in the category of suits on contracts, because they involve a breach of the implied contract of the carrier, to safely carry the passenger to his destination. Now, the crowded condition of the calendars of the circuit and superior courts, on the one hand, and the vastly simplified, common-sense methods of procedure of the municipal court, on the other hand, have attracted litigants to the municipal court to such an extent that an overwhelming majority of all contract cases is now submitted to that court for adjudication rather than to the circuit or superior courts. Three of the judges of each of the latter courts devote themselves to chancery cases, a jurisdiction denied to the municipal court. The judges of the criminal court and the justices of the appellate courts are recruited from the incumbents of these circuit and superior court benches. In practically all other respects the power and jurisdiction of the judges of the municipal court is the same as that of the judges of the circuit and superior courts. The judges of the circuit and superior courts who sit in common law cases have nine-tenths of their time taken up by personal injury suits and other actions of trespass, while only about ten per cent of their time is taken up by contract cases.

"Now it is true that a good part of the time of the judges of the municipal court is taken up with business of a petty character. But a lawsuit which involves a dispute about a small amount of money frequently involves the nicest questions of law and is of as great importance to the litigant of modest means and station in life as is the cause involving a large amount of money to the wealthy litigant engaged in it. And the fact that in the so-called petty cases the litigants generally cannot afford to take an appeal to the appellate court, so that the judgment of the municipal court is final, makes it especially important that judges of high character and ability should preside in those cases.

"As I understand it, the salary increase, if adopted by the people, will not apply to the present incumbents of the municipal court bench. It will only apply to those judges to be elected in the future. The higher salary, I am fully persuaded, will result in a higher average ability of the aspirants for these judgeships. If any fault is to be found with the salary increase, it is, in my opinion, that the salaries are not increased to \$10,000, so as to place the municipal court judgeships on the same plane of dignity with those of the circuit and superior courts.

"Now, if this is true, would it be the part of wisdom for the voters of Chicago to reject the act simply because the legislature has been tricky in its methods? To do so would be like rejecting a package of wholesome food for a starving child because it is wrapped up in an anarchistic newspaper. Let us condemn and denounce the motive and methods of the legislature, but let us adopt the act, if it is good, on its merits.

Civil Service Vital

"But even if the propriety and justice of the salary increase are debatable, still I insist that the positive gain to the cause of good government insured by the civil service provisions of the act is so great and important that it far outweighs the possible objectionableness of the salary increase. Moreover, the one involves a great moral question, a great question of public policy, a question of taking another step in the onward march of progressive ideas in our governmental

affairs. The other involves nothing but a question of dollars and cents.

"And let us not forget one thing. If we reject this act now, the professional politicians are sure to place just one interpretation upon it, and that is, that the people of Chicago have ceased to care for civil service reform. It will be a blow to the cause. And when the small band of active fighters for civil service reform legislation knocks the next time at the door of the legislature, we will be denounced as long-haired theorists and impractical dreamers, and will be given the cold shoulder. And it will take many years before the legislature will make another concession to us.

"Just a word about the other municipal court act which is to be voted on next Tuesday. This act provides for a number of changes in procedure. In addition thereto it provides for the salary increase of the judges and for a very substantial increase in the salaries of the chief bailiff and chief clerk.

"The proposed amendments in matters of procedure are commendable but not of great importance. Nor do they involve any great principle or question of public policy. We can easily worry along another year or two under the present excellent procedure of the municipal court.

"On the other hand, the proposed increase in the salaries of the chief bailiff and chief clerk is utterly indefensible. These positions are largely in the nature of sinecures. The real administrative work of these offices is done by the chief deputies. If we adopt the civil service act the principal work now done by the chief bailiff and chief clerk, which consists in filling the subordinate positions, will be taken from them.

Civil Service Associations Act

"The arguments for and against both acts from every point of view were thoroughly discussed a few days ago at a joint meeting of the executive committees of the Illinois Civil Service Reform Association and of the Chicago Civil Service Reform Association. As a result of that discussion it was unanimously resolved to recommend to the citizens of Chicago to vote *for* the adoption of the first and *against* the adoption

of the second of the acts under consideration.

"I was charged with the duty of bringing this message to the City Club. The views which I have expressed, while they have my cordial concurrence, are those of the bodies which have delegated me to speak for them on this occasion." (Applause.)

CHAIRMAN JOHNSTONE: "Before calling upon Chief Justice Olson it is my pleasure to announce that, as stated by Mr. Sikes, part of the time allotted to him will be taken up by a gentleman to whom we in this City Club are always delighted to listen, Prof. Charles E. Merriam." (Applause.)

Prof. Charles E. Merriam

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Club: I did not come here with the expectation of making any remarks on this subject today, and what I do have to say will be put into pretty small compass.

"The referendum bill provided for by the act of the last legislature is tricky and fraudulent upon its face and contains absolutely no information as to the real purpose masked under the language of the title of the act. The second act, which Mr. Zeisler agrees ought to be defeated, makes no reference at all to its purpose, but merely says, 'An act to amend an act,' and so on. The first act does say 'An act to amend an act,' etc., 'providing among other things for the placing of the employes of the municipal court under civil service.' By some curious coincidence both of these acts contain a provision for increases of salaries, amounting to anywhere from \$125,000 a year to as high as \$165,000 a year. Now we might ask in the first place how this salary grab happened to be put in both these acts, the purpose of one of which is to provide for civil service and the purpose of the other to provide for procedural reform, yet both of which contain a provision for an increase of salaries of approximately \$150,000 a year. Somebody's hand must have reached out in the conference committee, or at some other critical period in the legislative course of these bills, and introduced into them what Mr. Zeisler himself calls a legislative joker.

I am opposed to passing a statute that contains that type of a joker.

Home Rule at Issue

"If the question of the increase of the salaries of municipal court judges and the bailiff and the clerks is to be discussed, it ought to be discussed in Chicago, and the proper place to discuss it is in the city council of Chicago, the money-appropriating body of this town. I served in that council and passed through the experience of making at least two budgets, and I know the trouble had in making both ends meet. In the last budget-making session of the city council we turned down many increases that many of the members of the council thought highly desirable. Many of the members of the council would have liked to raise the salaries of the policemen, because of the increase in the cost of living and the stationary nature of their salaries. Many of the members of the council would have liked to raise the salaries of the firemen, from a variety of reasons. Anybody who is familiar with the city government knows that the present small appropriation of the city of Chicago for health purposes is a disgrace to this community. We would like to have added to that last year fifty or one hundred thousand dollars. If we are going to discuss the matter of salary raising, let us discuss it, not down at Springfield at midnight in some conference committee, but on the floor of the city council in the city of Chicago, where the policemen can present their claims, the firemen can present their claims, the health department can present its claim, and the judges of the municipal court and the bailiffs can present their claims. Then, if these claims are just and should take precedence over the other claims, well and good. Let us decide that here, and not have the increase thrust down our throats on the basis of a peculiar sort of a referendum.

"I am just as much in favor of civil service as Mr. Zeisler is. There are 250 employes in the municipal courts, and to get those 250 employes under civil service we will pay \$150,000 a year. I think that is a point where civil service defeats itself, because putting these 250

men under civil service does not amount to \$150,000 a year.

"How do they propose to take care of this increase? Will they take it out of the street cleaning or out of garbage removal, or out of the work of the health department, or will they reach down into the pockets of the taxpayers and ask for an additional tax which will give them \$150,000 a year more?

"Now, my time is short, for Chief Justice Olson is yet to speak at length about these propositions. I agree with Mr. Zeisler in condemning the second proposition, although I appreciate the importance of procedural reform; that can wait. I am opposed to the adoption of these bills, because I do not think that we should pay any such price as \$150,000 a year to put the municipal court of this city under civil service.

\$9,000 Judges Wanted

"If we are going to get \$9,000 judges I should also like to see the machinery by means of which we could be more sure of electing \$9,000 men. We have tried for years in this town to get the municipal court judges out of politics. The Republican party, having control of the legislature when the court was organized, provided for the election of these court judges at a time when they expected to elect the entire twenty-eight, and they did; and they elected the entire nine the next time. We ought not to permit, in my opinion, any increase in the salary of these judges until we get two things: First, the election at some other time than a general election, and, second, a provision requiring the nomination of judges by petition only, and absolutely prohibiting party nominations for the municipal court of the city." (Applause.)

CHAIRMAN JOHNSTONE: "Gentlemen, as I suspected, there is a real difference of opinion in regard to these acts, and it seems to center about the salary provision. We have taken care that you should hear from men who know whereof they speak. It is our privilege now to listen to the man who has made the municipal court what it is. I have great honor in introducing Mr. Chief Justice Harry Olson." (Applause.)

Hon. Harry Olson

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the City Club: I want briefly to indicate to you what the amendments in the municipal court act cover, because, as has been suggested here today, the important provisions are those relating to salaries. The others are not so important, but they are more important than has been indicated to you, as, of course, these speakers would not be as familiar with this matter as some of the judges of the court. After that I want to discuss with you for a moment or two what the municipal court is, because I think Chicago knows less about it than most other places. Third, I desire to discuss with you the subject matter of the salaries of judges in a rather broad and general way.

"Section 2 of the Revised Act does not, in the opinion of most lawyers, add anything to the law as it stands at present, but simply clears up a disputed legal point. It provides that the court shall have jurisdiction in first-class cases of actions on judgments, a provision that is not in the present law. The court has jurisdiction of cases involving more than one thousand dollars, known as first-class cases, only where the action is founded on contract. The authorities seem to hold that a judgment is not a contract, but that the obligation to pay a judgment is such a legal obligation that it is presumed legally that the defendant, in consideration of this obligation, promises to pay the amount of the judgment. While it is thought that the court now has jurisdiction of those cases, it was deemed wise by some to add this additional provision to correct a disputed legal question. There is seldom any defense to such actions on judgments, and they furnish to the court practically no additional contested litigation.

"There is also provision in this section that the court shall have jurisdiction in first-class cases of certain actions, such as replevin, trial of right of property and attachment. These provisions were inserted at the request of the bailiff, whose counsel had some doubts as to his liability in case he should serve writs in these classes of cases. The court has assumed jurisdiction in such cases ever

since the organization of the court without any serious question as to its right to do so. The provisions in question probably add nothing to the law as it stands at present; thus the jurisdiction of the court is not changed by the act.

Judges Account for Time

"Section 8 of the present law provides that each associate judge shall, at the commencement of each month, make to the chief justice, under his official oath, a report in writing. It provides that he shall report under his official oath the number of days and the number of hours per day he has held court. To make the matter easy, a card was provided containing space to show the number of days of the month and the number of hours each day, and the judges were required to fill these out and sign them upon the back under their official oath.

"In the first annual report of the court these were published. It was found that the hardest working and most diligent judge had the lowest number of hours, and the man whose work was least effective had the longest hours. I suppose he put in time in chambers. A variety of methods of filling in the hours was resorted to by various judges, so that thereafter we did not dare, in fairness to the hard-working judges, to publish these reports. In this new law the hour feature has been taken out, and the judge is only required to certify the days that he has held court. The judges felt no doubt that this was like keeping tab of them in school, when, you remember, if we came ten minutes late, we used to have to go back to the blackboard and mark it down. Since the clerk and bailiff did not have to do that, I suppose it imposed upon their dignity.

"The next provision is that the salary of the chief justice shall be increased from \$7,500 to \$10,000, and the associate judges from \$6,000 to \$9,000, as you have heard.

"Section 14 provides that the clerks' and bailiffs' offices may close at 5 o'clock instead of five-thirty, and, I believe, they may open half an hour later.

"The act next provides that the clerks' and bailiff's salaries may be fixed by the city council until 1912, and that in

1912 they shall be \$9,000 for the clerk and \$9,600 for the bailiff. Under that provision the city council could, if it saw fit, raise the salaries of the clerk and bailiff immediately upon the passage of this law. They have raised them from \$5,000 to \$6,000 already, but there is some debate as to whether the city council has the right to do that, in view of the constitutional provision providing that the salary of an officer shall not be increased during the term of his office.

"Section 16 of the law, in addition to making the same provision for the bailiff's office as for the clerk's, provides also that the salaries of deputy clerks and bailiffs shall be fixed from time to time by orders signed by a majority of the judges. One additional bailiff at a salary of \$2,500 per annum and two additional deputy bailiffs at \$2,000 per annum are provided for in the revision act. The maximum that may be allowed to other deputies is increased from \$1,500 to \$2,00.

"The present law provides that every police officer in the city of Chicago shall be *ex-officio* a deputy bailiff of the municipal court and shall perform from time to time such duties in respect to cases within the jurisdiction of the court as may be required of them by the court. The revision act provides that such officer shall perform such duties in respect to criminal and quasi-criminal cases within the jurisdiction of the court. It is deemed best to confine the work of police officers as *ex-officio* deputy bailiffs to criminal and quasi-criminal cases, giving them no power in purely civil cases, since they are not under bond to the bailiff to secure him against damages for false returns, etc.

"Parts of Section 22 of the present act have been declared unconstitutional, and some of the provisions of the new act contain a rewriting of that section, in order to make it comply with the supreme court's decision.

Procedure in Cases of Appeal

"Another important provision in Section 22 is that judgments of the municipal court in all cases may be reviewed upon appeal to or writs of error from the appellate court and the supreme court in the same manner and upon the same terms, as nearly as may

be, as the judgments of city courts in like cases. The effect of this provision is to allow appeals in all cases involving less than one thousand dollars. At the present time appeals cannot be taken in these cases, and the only method of review is by writ of error sued out within thirty days after the entry of the judgment. Upon such writ of error being sued out the municipal court stays executions for ninety days, upon filing of a stay bond.

"Under the revision act, an appeal will be allowed as a matter of course upon bond being given, which will tie up the judgment until the upper court can dispose of the case. With the present congested calendars in the appellate court these appeals cannot be disposed of for a great length of time. Before the second branch court began its work this year the appellate court was two years behind in its work. This revision, therefore, will operate as a great injustice where parties appeal, merely for delay, causes not exceeding one thousand dollars. The provisions as to suing out a writ of error in cases involving not exceeding one thousand dollars, and for the ninety-day stay bond remain in the revision act, but the amendatory provisions for appeal in such cases will make the remedy of review almost exclusively by appeal, for the reason that the ninety-day stay is not a sufficient length of time to enable the appellate court to dispose of the matter.

"Appeals for delay are aggravating enough in any case, but more especially are they aggravating in cases of forcible detainer. Many cases arise in the municipal court under the existing law where a landlord seeks to get possession of property from a tenant, where he is justly entitled to recover; he often feels that there is not a sufficient amount involved to warrant the employment of counsel; he, therefore, pleads his own cause and possibly does not make as full proof as able counsel would. After judgment is pronounced in plaintiff's favor and a writ of restitution ordered against defendant, the defendant is possibly approached by one having a license to practice law, who assures him that he can stay in possession of the premises for some time. A writ of error is sued out and a ninety-day stay bond is

filed, which provides that the defendant will prosecute the writ of error with effect and pay all rent then due or that may become due before the final determination of the suit, and also all damages and loss which the plaintiff may sustain by reason of the withholding of the premises in controversy, and by reason of any injury done thereto during such withholding, together with costs in case the judgment is affirmed or the writ of error dismissed. This provision of the bond is statutory.

"Because of some technical defect in the proof, it may be that the appellate court must reverse the judgment of the municipal court. There is, therefore, no liability on the stay bond. The defendant possibly is insolvent, so the rent and damages intended to be secured by the bond can never be collected. Under the present law the defendant gets ninety days' rent free, which he is able to divide with his attorney. When appeals are allowed, this ninety days' stay will be a stay of something over a year, at least until the appellate court can dispose of the matter and reverse the cause, when the parties will come back to the municipal court and find themselves in the same situation as when they started; the defendant and his attorney dividing the rent each month, never intending to pay any to the plaintiff.

"Section 23 provides that no exceptions need be taken to any adverse ruling of the court on any matter whatever. The present statute has the same provision, but thereunder it is doubtful whether it is not necessary to take exceptions on motions that do not occur during the trial. The section also provides for a statement of facts for review; such statement of facts may be the stipulation of parties as to such facts as are deemed necessary or material to a proper review of the cause, a complete stenographic or other report of the evidence, rulings and proceedings, or such abstract or abridgment thereof as is deemed sufficient; it may contain a stipulation as to part of the facts, a complete stenographic or other report as to other facts, or as to the testimony of certain witnesses and an abstract or abridgment as to still other facts, or as to the testimony of other witnesses.

This is deemed an improvement over the present method of preparing evidence for review in the upper court.

Service of Summons

"Section 28 provides for service of summons, curing what some lawyers deemed doubtful provisions as to the service of summons on incorporated companies, where, according to the general practice act, the sheriff must make a return that the president or receiver of the railroad company could not be found in the county before service on a subordinate officer. As applied to the bailiff, the latter could not make such return, having no jurisdiction outside of the city. No difficulty has been experienced in this matter for some months, the sheriff making his return that he cannot find the person or receiver within the city of Chicago and thereby being authorized to serve a subordinate.

"Section 28 also provides that the provisions as to residence of the defendant shall not apply to attachment suits where the defendant is not a resident of the state, or has departed from the state, or upon due inquiry cannot be found, or is concealed within the state so that process cannot be served upon him. While the provisions of the attachment act and replevin act have been administered according to their terms in the municipal court, still some doubt has been expressed as to whether the present act did not apply solely to actions against non-residents, and not authorizing an attachment in those cases where the defendant is concealed or on due inquiry cannot be found. No particular difficulty, however, has been experienced in this regard.

"On the first of April, 1910, the judges of the municipal court adopted rules abolishing common law pleadings and demurrers. The legislature was not willing to follow the court in this action and re-enacted the old law, so that if the pleadings now in use in the court are to be maintained, the court will have to again re-enact this rule.

"Another section was adopted, Section 29, I believe, to the effect that if the plaintiff demands a jury and pays six dollars for it, the defendant need not do so, and may have the benefit of the jury trial. Under the law as it is at

the present time both plaintiff and defendant must demand a jury and pay six dollars, and if the plaintiff demands a jury and subsequently waives it, and the defendant has failed to demand a jury, the defendant may not have a jury. The purpose of the law as it now stands was to get \$12 for a jury trial in the municipal court on the theory that the court has gone out and summoned jurors to try the case. Under this new act only half that much will be received by the city.

"In my judgment, the costs of litigation should more and more be put off on those who desire to litigate, and not upon the community as a whole, and the mere demand of this \$6 for a jury trial in our court has led to the waiving of juries in thousands of cases and has discouraged jury trials to an enormous extent.

"Under the present law every person desirous of suffering a nonsuit on trial before the court without a jury shall be barred therefrom unless he do so before the court states its findings. Under the amendment, the rule is made the same as in the circuit court. The application for nonsuit must be made before the case is submitted for final decision. This is an improvement tending to the orderly conduct of a case in court.

"Section 48 of the revision act provides for service upon any member of defendant's family of the age of twelve years and upwards.

"The present law provides that proceedings for the arrest on criminal charge and applications for warrants shall be proceedings in court and not proceedings before a judge. Section 50 of the revision act grants the judges power to issue warrants over their own hands as judges of the court.

Abbreviated Forms for Records

"Section 62 of the revision act grants ample power to the chief justice to prescribe abbreviated and amplified forms of entries of orders, judgments and decrees in the court, such abbreviated forms to stand for and represent the respective amplified forms thereof.

"In my judgment, that and the provision applying to forcible detainer are the most important amendments of all. The others we can get along without; some

of them I did not favor, some of them I did. The courts of first instance of the country have usually been justice of the peace courts, and their records are kept very largely in abbreviated forms on the wrappers of the files. When we have a court of record, such as our municipal court in Chicago, record writing is a serious matter of expense. Although the act as drafted by Judge Gilbert provided for abbreviated forms, the judges of the court—of the first court—thought that the provisions regarding abbreviations were loose in this, that a clerk might use his own discretion as to the abbreviations, and when the writing got cold he would not know what it meant, and certainly nobody else could decipher it after he had left the court's employ. Therefore it became highly important that there should be certainty and definiteness in regard to the records of the court, and the court, therefore, drew a general order in the absence of a law to the effect that every time an abbreviated form was entered it should be considered in law that the amplified form for the same order prescribed by the chief justice on file in the clerk's office was also a record of the court. That matter will soon be reached for consideration in the supreme court of this state.

"The amendment makes this difference to the finances of the city of Chicago: It will take not less than \$125,000 per year to write these records in amplified form. Because of this method of writing these records, they were able to establish in New York City in their municipal court a similar system; they did so in Buffalo; they did so in Milwaukee; they did so in Cleveland, and they are going to do so in Pittsburg, Philadelphia, St. Louis and Kansas City in the near future. I think it is the only way they can expeditiously write the records of the courts. But there must be certainty, and these records must be in the English language under the constitution. This act writes into the law the order which the judges have made governing the record writing.

"The civil service act places all officers and places of employment in the court, except the offices which are filled by election, under the city civil service law. It also contains the provision for salary

increase that the other bill does. I talked with one of the gentlemen who was present at the conference at the legislature the other day as to how that happened. I wanted to get to the bottom of it, and he told me that the argument used there was that since the civil service act was passed Section 8 had been amended, and if it became a law after the other on its terms it would supersede the other law and repeal it, therefore they found it necessary to insert the same salary provision in this act.

"Now, this legislation does not represent, of course, what the judges of the court desire on the whole. Of course the bill as it passed finally was not what any particular group of individuals wanted; it was a composite bill.

A Judicial Experiment

"Now, I wish to say just a word or two as to the municipal court. The municipal court is the first step in the United States away from the justice of the peace system that came to us from England, and ran through the township form of government in the northern states of the country and the county government that ran through the southern states of the country. It was the first attempt to make some record of the court that handled minor criminal cases and the cases involving violations of city ordinances. It is also the first court in the country to have abandoned the common law system of pleadings, and which is not upon a code basis. We inherited the common law system of pleadings from England. Many of our states have adopted the code system, which they have taken from New York, following the Field code. That code has become so cumbersome that they are trying to get away from it in New York, and Senator Elihu Root is advising the system in effect in the municipal court of Chicago today. In my judgment, in the next twenty-five years, courts of record in this country, in both the large and small cases, will be under the simplified form of pleadings now in use in Chicago, which is not a new experiment, because it has been the system of pleadings in effect in the high court of justice of England for more than thirty years. Its provisions have been construed in their appellate courts, and a great many

of these questions that may arise on these pleadings in our courts will have precedents in the rulings of the high court of justice of England.

"The court act was the first attempt to put on the bench men who were lawyers in the trying of cases of small sums of money. It was finally thought wiser in this country to put on the bench of first instance men who were learned in the law, men who could try larger cases if they were submitted to them. In other words, it was thought wise that the skill in the law should meet the case at its beginning rather than only in a court of review at the last.

"Let me illustrate. Put a judge upon the criminal bench of Cook County without any experience in the criminal law, and let him try important criminal cases. He may be ever so able a lawyer, but you will find his record frequently punctured with error, providing the defendant is well defended, and the supreme court will say so, and will reverse the case and remand it for further trial, no matter how distinguished and able a civil lawyer is sitting there. If, on the other hand, an able criminal lawyer is trying that case, there is apt to be no error in the record, and the criminal law is so circumscribed that it may well be said that seldom should there be a reversal of any important criminal case if the prosecutor is able and the court is able, as he should be. It should be the court of last resort as to most criminal cases.

"Now, apply that to the civil side. If the judge is an able and experienced lawyer in the trial of civil cases, there are not going to be so many reversals. Judge Taft has said in an article in the *North American Review* that we have made the mistake in this country of letting men who were not learned in the law try the small cases. But you must not think for a moment that the municipal court of Chicago tries only the smaller cases in this city. On the contrary, the commercial litigation of this second city of the nation is in that court, as I can show you by a glance at the figures.

Commercial Litigation in the Municipal Court

"The money judgments for September, 1911, in the superior court were

\$51,997.54; in the circuit court, \$13,818, together over \$65,000. In the municipal court of Chicago, during the same month, the money judgments were \$327,000, and during the entire past year they amounted to twice those in both of the other courts. What does it mean? You say we have so many small cases that they add up, but I say it means that cases involving large sums of money are on trial in that court. I stepped from the bench in a case involving \$175,000 of actual money to come here. I have under advisement a case involving \$450,000 actual money, and am going in to the trial of one involving \$1,000,000 of actual money. In these contract cases the amount sued for is the amount declared upon in the declaration, and the plaintiff wants every dollar that he sues for. It is not like in a damage suit, when the plaintiff demands \$50,000 and will settle, if pressed, for 50 cents.

"I say that you cannot get the class of men that you should have on the municipal bench for \$6,000 a year, because under the present system a judge is asked to pay a campaign assessment that is usually a large part of his salary, so that it means that the judge's salary is only really about \$4,500 the first year. As a general rule, no lawyer who has a going business where he can earn \$3,000 cares to go to the municipal court unless he is willing to go there for the honor and for the experience—many men are willing to do that. But honor does not buy shoes for the baby and does not compensate a man. You will pardon me for being personal, but I sit in the office opposite the Chamber of Commerce, where as a young lawyer 28 years of age my income was as great as it is today after 15 years of unremitting effort in serving this community, and my several former associates are sitting upon the other benches drawing \$10,000 per year. If I am going to be in the judiciary I want the prevailing salary. I want to be paid after all those years a judicial salary. Of course I can go out and practice law, and that is probably what I will be compelled to do. I say to you that if your municipal court is going to be maintained as it is you must not humiliate its judges. In some quarters it has the reputation today of being in its construction, in its method

of operation, in its pleadings, in its management, capable of doing its business, and it does. I took the record today and found that there were 42,041 cases brought in the past year and 40,536 disposed of. On the criminal side, 84,977 cases were brought up to September 1st, and 84,441 disposed of; only 500 left out of nearly 90,000 criminal and quasi-criminal cases.

Good Judges—Judicial Salaries

"You must pay those judges the prevailing judicial salary. Go down to Harrison street or to Desplaines street, or some of the other stations, and you will hear people say that the judge is nothing but a justice of the peace. He is a little more. He has final jurisdiction in misdemeanors, which formed half the business of the criminal court of Cook County formerly. He ought to have complete criminal jurisdiction. Any city court should look after the criminal business of a great city.

"Now, this court was created as a criminal court as well as a civil court. It was given jurisdiction by transfer of felony cases. It was the intention of the framers of the act that this should be an essentially criminal court. The provisions of the act giving that court criminal jurisdiction were declared unconstitutional, and as a result the court has been forced into civil business. We have some twenty-two judges hearing civil cases and about ten in the trial of criminal cases in the police courts. While the legal questions involved may not be so difficult at Harrison street, the grinding upon a man's nerves and constitution in trying the cases that come there, that appeal to his sympathies, that are difficult of adjustment, in view of the numerous human relations which arise there, is the highest kind of work that a judge can do. This city is full of people of foreign extraction. They get their ideas of the laws of the land and the character of the government from the judge they come in contact with at the police court. He is usually the only public official they meet. That man should be as high grade a judge as we can well give to any 'nisi prius' court of the land. If you do not want this court to be on a high basis, it will go to a low basis. Only the assistance of

the bar, of lawyers here, will keep the personnel of that court up. The Bar Association must do something to enable it to get stronger judges all the time. The Bar Association has had the courage and heart taken out of it by decisions that make them afraid to proceed against members of the bar for disbarment, and members of the bench, and I do not know whether or not they will look with much favor on a task of this kind, in view of certain events. But they ought not to be timid, they ought not to be afraid to condemn where condemning is necessary, and they ought to stand by where it is warranted, and they ought to do it before the nominations and not afterwards.

"It is true that mere salary will not get you better men. If you keep, as Professor Merriam says, the judicial office as the reward of spoils any longer, you will get very inferior judges for \$9,000 just as well as you will get them for \$6,000. The judicial office should be rescued from the spoils of politics, and the recommendations of the bar should have great weight with the voters in the community. As a matter of fact, it always has had that.

"In a court organized as ours is the relative qualifications of the judges are more or less considered in the character of cases they are assigned to try, not always, but as a general rule we have the able men trying the higher class cases and the more important cases involving the more abstruse questions.

To Eliminate Salary Disputes

"One reason that I am so anxious to see this civil service provision adopted is in order to get the question with reference to salary of clerks and bailiffs away from the judges' meetings of the municipal court of Chicago. It is well for the business of the court that this should be taken out of their hands and left with some commission such as the City Civil Service Commission. At the same time, the court, as it had been constituted, has always had the power to discharge a clerk or a bailiff at its mere pleasure and has done so in numerous instances. I am sure the members of the bar will tell you that the treatment that the public have received from the clerks and bailiffs of the municipal court

of Chicago has been on as high a plane perhaps as in any other public office. The reason for that was, in part, that the court did have the power to eliminate a man who was not desired in the court.

"I wish to correct an impression that may have got out as a result of the statement that the increases in salaries amount to \$165,000. That is all that could possibly be spent under the most disgraceful and boodling management you can imagine. The actual expense to the city of Chicago will be about \$38,000 in the year 1912; it will be about \$62,000 in the year 1914, and it will be \$89,000 in the year 1916. It might go just a little above that, but those are about the approximate increases, and that is not so serious a matter. There are a good many ways where money can be saved and applied to the useful purpose of paying the judiciary a proper salary. I could myself indicate many places where that could be saved by this same city council who act upon questions of this character; for instance, the deal whereby we rented for five years a building at 148 Michigan avenue for \$550,000. I declare to you that I believe, as a contractor's son, that it can be built for \$250,000.

"Another reason why it is not always wise to leave to the city council the question of fixing the salaries of judges in a court like this is the way in which the court comes into collision with the officials of the city administration. We had one on the question of anarchy. It was declared one day by a high official when I came over on a mere ministerial matter that, 'I am opposed to the increase of the salaries of the judges of the municipal court of Chicago.' Well, you can see where the relation is to the police department. On one occasion the chief of police of this city held up the warrants of the court, and he was given one hour to serve those warrants, or he would have to go to the Cook county jail. How do you conceive that the city administration would raise the salary of a judge that had the nerve to do that? Would they do it? Of course they would not.

Judicial Positions in England

"In England, judges are paid enormous salaries. I do not advocate that

here. The judges of the high court of justice of England are paid \$25,000 annually, and there are not, in number, as many judgments in the high court of justice in the city of London in a year as there are in the municipal court of Chicago. They give their judges high social position, because they want to emphasize to the people duty and obedience to the law. Here, I say, you can do much in selecting as your judges men of the highest character and attainments, who are paid more than the usual salary in public office. The professional men in this country have lost the position they formerly had. It has gone to the business man, the director of great corporations, the multi-millionaire; but the pendulum will swing back in this country, because most of us are poor, most of us haven't anything but our character, most of us haven't anything but that which we get in our daily work to take care of ourselves and of our children, and we have not much to leave them. I say that when most of us are in that condition, the ideals in this country will not be ideals of wealth, but they will be ideals of justice, ideals of honor, ideals of character. Let our judges be men who live clean lives, who have no strings upon them, who have no private entrance to their chambers, who leave no man suspicious, because a certain lawyer is hired, that he is not going to have a square deal. That is the kind of a judge you want, and you should hold him up in the community as a man that you are willing to trust." (Applause.)

Hon. Noble B. Judah, Jr., state representative from the First Senatorial District, spoke as follows:

Hon. Noble B. Judah, Jr.

"Mr. Chairman: I would not have asked the privilege of saying anything, but that the statements made by two of the gentlemen who have spoken were of such a character that I cannot, in justice to myself and my associates in the legislature, remain silent. If you will pardon me for being personal, I was chairman of the municipal court committee in the House. I was averse to any salary raise because I thought this feature might hurt the rest of the municipal court bill, and fought the raise so hard in the com-

mittee that the so-called revision bill went out of the municipal court committee without any salary raise; but the raises were put in on the second reading of the bill by amendment from the House. On May 10 the revision bill passed the House. The civil service municipal court bill had already passed the House and had gone to the Senate; the Senate made some amendments which were not acceptable to the House; the bill went back to the Senate and was there on May 18, and was referred to a conference committee. The Republican majority members of the conference committee were the following: Senator H. S. Magill, chairman, whom Mr. Merriam will admit is one of the most progressive men in the Senate, and the sponsor of the civil service bill in the Senate; Senator Cornwell, from Chief Justice Olson's own district, whose character Judge Olson can bear witness to; Representative William ApMadoc, from the Sixth Ward, the sponsor of the civil service bill in the House, and myself. Anything that was done by this conference committee was done by those four members, because they were the Republican majority. If there was anything wrong done there, it was done by those four men. If there was any 'professional politicians' who had a hand in trying to fix up the civil service bill, as has been said here, it must have been these four men, for they are the ones who drew the conference committee report, and I will leave you to judge from the reputation of those four men whether they were 'professional politicians' trying to put a 'joker' in this bill, as has been said here. Moreover, the secretary of the Civil Service Association was present at the conference committee meeting and examined the report before it was presented to the two Houses.

Why the Salary Provision was Included

"The section which contains the provision relating to the salary of the judges in the civil service bill was inserted by us because we wished to put under civil

service the four assistants of the chief justice; the section of the present municipal court law which provides for the appointment of these assistants is the same section which provides for the judges' salary. When we put this section in the civil service bill it would not have been right to have left the amount of the judges' salary at the present figure, because then two bills would be passed and submitted to the referendum which would have been inconsistent in their terms, and in case both were adopted by the people the courts might have held both invalid on account of the inconsistency. Bear in mind that the revision bill, which included the salary raise, had already passed both Houses, so that the legislature had declared itself in favor of the increase. I was as instrumental as anybody on the conference committee in inserting this section in the civil service bill, and yet, as I have said to you, I opposed the salary raise in the revision bill, so you can see that this section was not put into the civil service bill for the purpose of trickery and to secure the salary raise no matter which bill should be adopted at the referendum.

"Now to come back to the title of the bill. The title of the revision bill is an exact copy of the title of the former amendatory municipal court bill. The title of the civil service bill was exactly the same title as in the revision bill, and at the request of the secretary of the Civil Service Association we put in those words in the referendum clause which have been criticized here today, 'which act provides, among other things, for civil service in the municipal court,' so that there would be something to show which was the civil service bill. The secretary of the Civil Service Association is here, and he can correct me if I am misstating the facts. Bear in mind that the revision bill had already passed, so that no change could be made in its title. If there is any trickery or fraud in those titles, you will have to charge it to the four men whom I have named, and I say there was none." (Applause.)

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"THE MANUFACTURE OF MAN"

Dr. Woods Hutchinson of New York City, author and lecturer on public health, addressed the City Club at luncheon on Friday, the 3d instant, on the subject, "The Manufacture of Man." Dr. William A. Evans, former health commissioner of Chicago, presided and introduced the speaker, as follows:

CHAIRMAN EVANS: "You are here to listen to a talk today on the subject of 'The Manufacture of Man.' There are many things I might say in introducing the speaker, because he is one of the great characters who are making public thought in this country at this time.

"The principles of the protection of the human body, the principles of physical welfare, are as well established as the principles of banking or of trade. There has been a disposition, in certain quarters at least, to apply vague ideas and wild points of view to the consideration of these things. The man who can bring the people back to a basis of sanity and logic, to a basis where the ordinary principles of reason in relation to these things are applied, can do a world service. I believe that I can find nothing more apt, and at the same time more eulogistic of the man who is to speak to you, than to say that, in my judgment, of the forces that are working to make the care of people along physical lines a matter of sanity and of common sense, there is no factor that is of so much consequence as the personality, the speaking and the writing of Dr. Woods Hutchinson, the man whom I now introduce." (Applause.)

Dr. Woods Hutchinson

"It is with great pleasure that I appear before you today, because I think this meeting indicates what Dr. Evans has

already suggested, the coming of a new field and a new attitude for the profession which I represent.

"There was a time when the doctor was more or less a man of mystery, when a veil of silence was spread over his mouth, and when it was not considered proper for a member of the medical profession in good standing to talk about medical matters before the public. Up to fifty years ago there was sound reason for that reticence; before that time we had not so very much to offer that would stand the test of reason and common sense. But of late years we are beginning to think that we have acquired a body of valuable information, of scientific facts, which can be utilized by the public to its great benefit, and which we are glad to give out. We are not ashamed to lay our cards on the table and let everybody see the kind of game we are trying to play with and for the community.

"There was a time when the doctor was one of the most private of individuals. He was not expected to speak until he was spoken to. Only when the patient put out his tongue could he begin to take advantage of his defenseless condition and tell him things. But today, I am glad to say, the doctors are beginning to preach and the preachers are beginning to practice, and the millennium is very soon going to come.

"I do not want you to think, however, that the part of the doctor in the future of the community is going to be such as to put all the other professions out of business. The doctor is not going to be the whole thing by any means. But there is going to be a new point of view with reference to his work, and a new emphasis on its importance.

"I do not want you to think I have the

same impression in regard to the virtues of our profession as did a member of our sister profession, the clergy. He was preaching upon the care with which the Almighty watches over the smallest sparrow, and in his peroration he was describing the care and love the Almighty has for the most insignificant things in the universe. He said: 'The same hand that lifted the mountain and carved the mighty peaks clad in everlasting snow, the same intellect that made the mighty ocean as well as the shore beyond which it might not come, the same God that made me made a daisy.' (Laughter.)

The Raw Material

"The first thing to be considered in the manufacture of man is the quality of the raw material. What is it, good or bad? There is, perhaps, hardly a subject upon which we have managed to mislead and delude ourselves more effectively than upon this. When we talk about heredity we think of the father eating sour grapes and the teeth of the children being set upon edge. When we talk about our normal and natural inheritance we call it 'animal,' and we talk about original sin and other things of that sort. There could not be a more grievous error. The past of the race has been a past that we have good reason to be proud of, and the future is only a matter of confidence.

"Our heredity reaches back to the beginning of time. We talk about a child as if he were one or ten days or three weeks old; he is ten million years old. The period of his growth and the period of his development, with which we deal directly here, is only the apex of a great pyramid whose base is really in the sands of time, at the very beginning of life. He is the survivor of everything that has won out under adverse circumstances from the earliest times. He is not simply the little lump of living putty which we can take and fashion at our own free will. He has all the forces of the ages back of him driving him forward, and the first thing that we want to recognize is that he is 95 per cent to the good, and that, if we build securely upon that and give the child the right environment, the result will be 90 to 95 per cent good.

"The whole responsibility is up to us. Nature has done her part and the heredity of the child, even of the child born under unfavorable conditions in our slums, is 95 per cent to the good toward making a strong man or a true woman, and it is the duty of the community today to see that every child born in it gets the white man's chance to develop the virtues and the powers which he has inherited from the past.

"We need have little fear of hereditary disease; there is practically, with a few exceptions to which I shall refer later, no such thing as hereditary disease. We think of tuberculosis as an hereditary disease because it runs in families. Most unfortunately it does, but the meaning of that is that the child born in a tubercular household is simply saturated with infection from the time of his birth. The wonder is that any of the family escape the disease. All of us have been infected, not merely ten or a dozen times, but twenty or thirty times, but we have had sufficient vitality to throw off the infection. The child born of infected parents will perhaps have a lower resisting power than the average, and the infection in this way is inherited.

"The same is true of syphilis. We hear a great deal of talk about hereditary syphilis, because children were and are born into the world cursed from before their birth and bearing the seeds of the disease. But now we know that what has occurred there has been merely the infection of the embryo or growing child from the blood of the mother or from the semen of the father. The disease has not been inherited, but has simply been grafted on the individual before birth.

Hereditary Good Health

"The hereditary diseases have now shrunk to a mere handful. The hereditary strengths and vigors and virtues are in a normal and overwhelming majority.

"What can the community do to seize and hold all the strength and all the good health that is born in the community and see that it is given its best possible chance for development? That is the problem for the community in the manufacture of man.

The first thing that is absolutely nec-

essary for the development of a vigorous and self-supporting and energetic human being is an abundance of food. We are nothing but engines which have the power of taking in the sun energy and transmuting it into life. As long as we can keep ourselves well supplied with food and air, that engine will keep running, but no engine will run well without fuel.

"We thought at one time that we were going to be able to secure all our nutrition from a chemical laboratory, that all kinds of powdered 'demnition bow-wows,' as Mr. Mantalini would call them, were to be substituted for food. But after all, we have come to the conclusion that there is really nothing to eat but food, and the right kind of food and plenty of it. Percentages of proteins, percentages of carbo-hydrates, numbers of calories are all very well in estimating what we are eating, but food such as mother used to make—bread-and-butter and meat and potatoes and cake and pie, and buckwheat cakes with maple syrup and coffee with pure cream in it—is what we must have. These are the things that furnish the motive power for the human engine, and an abundant supply of this food is a first and absolutely indispensable prerequisite for health and vigor, and is necessary to success in the manufacture of human raw material.

The New View of Medicine

"We doctors are getting to a distinctly different point of view in regard to our care and our treatment of the diseases of humanity. There was a time when we were content—when, in fact, we were compelled to be content, practically—with making the best of a bad job. In those days we had remedies of various descriptions for various illnesses. We thought that drugs would do wonders. We had almost the same absolute faith in the effect of drugs that one of our colored colleagues in the South had. He was a shrewd, intelligent fellow, and had a large practice among his own people. He did not know very much about medicine, but knew a great deal more about the other thing, which is all-important in the practice of medicine and in other kinds of practice, human nature. He

could not always tell with absolute accuracy what kind of a disease his patient had, but he knew two-thirds of the time what kind of a patient the disease had—and that was nine-tenths of the entire battle. On one occasion, the old gentleman was called to attend a case of gunshot wound in the intestines, one of those complications that mar the family festivities that occur in some parts of the South. Of course, that is an affection that cannot be cured by absent treatment or pink pills. The old gentleman looked the patient over, and he reached into his saddle-bags and proceeded to dish out some powders which he rolled into some enormous pills as big as the patient could swallow. He said: 'Take one of these every hour and I will come again tomorrow.' The patient took them as directed and made a rapid and uninterrupted recovery.

"A short time after, one of the old gentleman's white colleagues met him on the street, and said: 'Doctor, I would like to ask you a question.' 'Suttinly, suttinly, sah. Any time you want to know anything, you jess come to me an' I tell you all about it,' he said. 'What did you give that man that got well so quick from that shooting scrape, doctor?' 'What did I give dat man? I give him pills made of alum an' rosin, equal pa'ts.' 'Alum and rosin? Why under heaven did you give such a dose as that to a man with a perforation of the intestines?' 'I am subprised to heal such a sma't man as you askin' me such a foolish question. The alum is to pucker the pa'ts together, an' the rosin is to make 'em stick.' I have seen some very much more pretentious and scientific prescriptions written in the best of Latin that I think had as much to do with the recovery of the patient as had the alum and rosin pills.

"We are no longer content to simply repair the human machine. We want to put it on an absolutely sound and substantial basis. That is one point at which we must have the co-operation of the community. You remember how we used to treat tuberculosis in the old days. In the days before we tried to find out the cause of the disease, instead of only how the disease might be combatted, we would look the patient over and give him

some good advice and a prescription for a bottle of cod liver oil or some other nice mixture. Then he would go to the drug store and get the prescription filled for fifty cents, and it would last two weeks.

A Hard Prescription to Fill

"Nowadays, if a patient of that sort comes into our office, we have to take a couple of hours to go over him and find out all about him, what his wages are, in what kind of place he has to work, whether he is able to buy himself the right kind of food and care, what sort of a house he lives in and how the bedroom is ventilated. Then we tell him that he must live upon the very best beefsteak and cream and milk, and eggs at 40 cents a dozen, and plenty of good, fresh fruit and the very best of everything that he can get. He must sleep in a room with windows on two sides of it and have two of them open, whether he has the coal to keep himself from freezing to death in the process or not. He must work no more than six or eight hours a day and in a well-ventilated room, and, if possible, he must go away to the country for a matter of two months.

"Now, if anyone can tell me of a drug store where he can get that prescription filled for fifty cents, I would like very much to have you tell me where it is. That is where the community comes in. The community now has to fill the prescription.

"There was a time, in the days of the Grecian civilization, when the doctor used to be accompanied by an orator. The doctor prescribed the medicine and the orator persuaded the patient to take it if he could. Today the doctor should be accompanied by some representative of the public welfare, who will see that the poor man or woman, who is often made tubercular by the conditions under which he or she has been compelled to live by the methods of work of the rest of the community, is allowed to build up health under the best possible conditions.

The Need for Fresh Air

"The next requirement after food is, of course, fresh air, and that means almost a revolution in our present manner of building houses. Houses in the earli-

est days were caves; later they were tombs built for the dead and inhabited by the living after the dead had been dead long enough. And if you look at some of our modern tenements, you will be convinced that they bear the marks of their ancestry in their construction. An abundant supply of fresh air means that we shall have to have a different conception of the question of the building of our houses and our cities.

"The city must be, and is becoming, as healthful a place for adults to live as the country, and will have as low a death rate. But we have not reached the point where a city is a wholesome and healthful place for children to grow up. That is the standard we must work for. When we have made the city a place where children can be well and happy and safe we shall have done much to make the city a desirable and wholesome and happy place for grown-ups to live in.

"The next requirement for the manufacture of human raw material is good education. I need hardly tell you what an immense broadening and widening the conception of this question has undergone within the last fifteen or twenty years. Our old idea of education was merely to give the child those qualifications that would make for culture, for superiority, for the requirements of the gentleman, who might be, to a very considerable extent, a rather expensive parasite on the community.

"The modern education, on the other hand, is an education for efficiency and for service. It proposes to educate and develop the whole child and not merely the expanded brain bulb at the upper end of him, to make the health of the child the principal and chief factor in his development. That is the type of education where the doctor and the teacher will work together for the upbuilding of the human species. That education must make the school room the most healthful and most wholesome place in which the child can be found. Then we will have to improve the conditions under which the child has to live during the time he is not in school.

The Community and the Home

"The responsibility of the community for the home is the keynote, I believe, of our future campaign.

"Of course, we believe that every man's house is his castle, and that every man should make his own home and his own surroundings desirable and wholesome and happy for the upbuilding of his children. But when we remember that something like 60 per cent of the total workers of the community are obliged to bring up their children on wages of not much to exceed \$40 a month, we can see that there are conditions which the individual parent cannot always control in the management and conduct and upbringing of his or her children. That is a place where the community must take its share of the responsibility and see that even in the humblest home the conditions are provided under which children can grow up under the right conditions.

"And I believe that the community is coming to the point of view where it will not tolerate any condition of law or any provision of society which will allow any individual or any class in the community to have too much until every child has had enough. How that will be brought about is, of course, a problem for the sociologist and economist. It may be necessary to cut away all of the figment of the law by which the inequalities that have accumulated during the lifetime of the individual are transmitted to the next generation, and entirely abolish the power of inheritance. That would improve the generation that gets the money quite as much as that which is deprived of it.

"Our present day education should make in every sense for efficiency and for vigor and for success, and the question of the kind of material in the community upon which that education shall be expended is coming to be an exceedingly important one. We have been providing at great expense a system of education, one of the best and one of the finest that is to be found anywhere in the civilized world. I happen to speak from practical experience, for I have just returned from a six months' tour abroad, visiting the different educational institutions and studying the educational methods of different communities of Europe. But that education is of such a type that something like 60 per cent of all the children who are submitted to it

are frozen or shaken or driven out of its processes before the fourteenth year, many of them a little beyond the twelfth year. We are supplying to the whole community a system of education which is being participated in to the full by only about 20 or 25 per cent of the entire children of the community.

Vocational Education

"Modern education should fit the great masses of the community for the work which they will have to do in order to earn their living, and the rationalization and the vocationalization of education is going to be the most important element, in my judgment, in the manufacture of man and the development of the right kind of material. It is not a matter of who shall do the dirty work or of training one-third of the community to work with their hands and, therefore, of educating them as a permanently inferior class. On the contrary, I believe that the coming man, the Superman, in Mr. Bernard Shaw's phrase, is going to be the intelligent, educated craftsman, the man who will work with his fingers and with his brain at the same time, the man who knows all the sciences and all the history and all the operations of the various crafts.

"It has been estimated that, with the immense control over the forces of the universe that has been given us within the last 75 years by the advance in science, if everybody worked under favorable and intelligent circumstances, with the assistance of machinery, four hours a day labor for the entire adult community would supply all the reasonable needs of that community. That ideal must be realized, and the man who is trained to have at his fingers' ends a skilled trade at which he can work six hours a day and who can then devote the rest of his time to the development of his other powers and to rational recreation, has almost reached the ideal existence.

"We have heard a great deal about the labor situation in San Francisco. We have all heard of the terrible union labor conditions and the restrictions which have been placed upon commerce and industry and of the insatiable greed of the unions, who are simply trying to do

to capital what capital has been trying to do to them for the last 75 years unobstructed and uninterrupted. But they have done this and they have made the city of San Francisco one of the most generally prosperous, as to its citizens and as a community, that I know of anywhere on the face of the earth. It is one of the best places in the world for a physician or a lawyer to practice his profession. They have distributed the wealth of the community throughout the community.

The Triumph of the Craftsman

"Here is the situation: A teacher in the schools of San Francisco gets \$75 a month; a master bricklayer working upon any of the buildings there gets \$225 a month. It is the triumph of the craftsman over the merely clerical individual. I believe that that is going to be the line of development of the future. At all events, we need have no fear whatever of educating our children to use their hands and to learn the rudiments of the great principles of working in wood and of working in iron and of working with leather, for fear that their work would impair their standing in the future or make their lives less happy. The methods of education we have today are methods of education that will carry the child forward until, when he leaves school, he is fit to earn his living and to take his place in the world.

"So much for what may be called the positive side of the manufacture of man. What about the negative? We have to do proportionately, of course, with the mistakes and misfortunes of humanity. Ninety-five per cent of all individuals born today under normal circumstances are healthy, vigorous individuals. About two or three per cent are unfortunately born defective or deficient in some of their powers, and become criminals or paupers, epileptics or insane persons. That is one exception to the rule that heredity is enormously to the good, and yet that is only another proof of it. For even when they have been tabulated and everything has been brought out that can be brought out, the total never exceeds two or three per cent. And yet we have constructed our principles of jurisprudence, our principles of criminal admin-

istration and our police system upon rules which apply to this small minority of the community.

"Ninety-five per cent of the community would do as they have done in moral affairs and in the affairs of personal conduct, if there were no laws at all. But we have enacted a system of laws which we have shifted upon the entire community simply for the purpose of controlling that two or three per cent. How are we going to handle that problem in the future?

"Knowing that most of these conditions are hereditary or congenital, every child born in the community should be brought under the careful supervision of a special committee, appointed through the schools and the board of health or through what other mechanism of public welfare may be deemed advisable, one of them a physician, one a teacher and one an alienist, skilled in mental diseases. If each child were examined from three years of age on, or better still, from the first year, I think that two-thirds of all those who later develop insanity or epilepsy or inebriety, or even criminality, would be detected before they were twelve or fifteen years of age. If that were done, two-thirds of such persons could be so trained and educated as to be made self-supporting and good citizens.

The Sterilization of Defectives

"We allow our criminals, we allow our insane, we allow our feeble-minded and our epileptics to drift on and to shift for themselves as best they may, and then we spend millions of dollars in order to protect ourselves against the doings of these unfortunates. We should put a stop to this flood of tainted blood in the race, emphatically, at its source and at its fountain-head. We know that it is hereditary, that never yet have two feeble-minded persons born a normal, sane, efficient child. The remedy therefore is simple, either segregation of all who are known to be so tainted, or else sterilization. We have already applied this idea in one of the neighboring states. A properly constituted commission may pass upon a criminal or an incurably insane or defective individual, and may submit him to an operation, which is

of the very simplest character, consisting of the cutting across of the duct that connects the genital gland or testicle or ovary, as the case may be, with the organs of generation. It involves no mutilation, or does not make the individual a mark of shame among his or her fellows. In one of the neighboring states it has already been voluntarily submitted to by something in the neighborhood of 400 or 450 criminals. Sterilization of the unfit before they have had the opportunity to reproduce their kind is a matter which is now almost for the first time within practical realization.

"We used to attempt the improvement of the human stock by selecting certain individuals who were regarded as particularly suitable to reproduce their kind. Of course, society approved this in a way as augmenting royalty and increasing the accumulation of property, and endeavored to promote the reproduction of a so-called superior type in the hope that they would produce a larger percentage of superior children for the benefit of the community. But the result of that experiment has shown that, even with the advantages which are given to these superior and more favored classes, the actual percentage of superior individuals who are born under these conditions is only about 10 or 15 per cent greater than in the rest of the community. It has shown that our greatest asset is the great, warm-hearted, red-blooded mass of the community, the 75 or 85 per cent from whose broad and fertile bosoms have sprung and will spring, our greatest statesmen and our greatest lawyers and our greatest physicians. As 'Bobby Burns' said:

The rank is but the guinea's stamp,
The man's the gowd for a' that.

"Our method of conserving and producing the largest number of desirable individuals is by increasing the general prosperity and wholesomeness of the entire mass of the community, and not in allowing it to be concentrated in the reproduction of a certain select group of so-called superior individuals.

"The work of the community in the building up of the race is simply the recognition of the brotherhood of man and the feeling that emphatically every one of us is responsible for the welfare of his brother

The New Social Spirit

"I believe that there is a new spirit coming into the race today, an effort which does not seek for self-consideration or for personal aggrandizement, which seeks for neither fame nor glory, nor even for a certain superior form of selfishness known as 'holiness' or 'purity.' It makes simply for service, for efficiency and for adding to the welfare of the race and making the world a little better for our having lived in it.

"The immortality, I think, that most of us crave is not the mere continuance of our own individual existence in a future state, but the survival of that which we may have done which is for the good of the community and for the health of the race. Our aspiration for immortality and eternity is, I think, voiced in the lines of George Eliot:

Oh, may I join that choir invisible
Of those immortal dead who live again
In minds made happier by their presence.
Be the sweet presence of the good diffused,
And in diffusion ever more intense.
So shall I join the choir invisible
Whose music is the gladness of the world."

(Applause.)

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TOWN PLANNING IN ENGLAND

On Tuesday, November 21st, Mr. Thomas H. Mawson of England, landscape architect and Honorary Associate of the Royal Institute of British Architects, addressed the City Club at a noon luncheon discussion on the subject of town planning developments in England. Mr. Mawson has recently published a very comprehensive work on "Civic Art: Studies in Town Planning, Parks and Boulevards." He has had wide professional experience in the planning of park areas in England.

Mr. Jens Jensen, Chairman of the City Club Committee on City Planning, presided and introduced the speaker with the following remarks:

Jens Jensen

"Members of the City Club: No doubt, a great many of you saw Mansfield play Ibsen's great drama, 'Peer Gynt,' in this city some years ago, and others of you may have read it. In this drama, Ibsen depicts a man who goes out into the world, looking for an empire. He comes back old and poor in health, and as he wandered through the forests, reflecting on his life, the friends he has lost, and the empire he has never found, he sees in the distance the humble cottage in which he was born, and at once it occurs to him, 'Why, there lies my empire, and I have been looking for it all my life.' If we will but look about, we will always find those things best fitted for us near at home.

"What has this to do with city planning? Every village, every city has some natural features which, if we have eyes to see them with, can be developed so as to produce individuality and character. But, usually generations pass before we discover the fact that there has

really been something beautiful that should have been incorporated in the town to give it the individuality and character which we prize. Think for a minute, what a common place this world would be if all towns were to look alike. Do not the individual characteristics of each town, of each land, of each race of people, make the world more interesting. The more marked these characteristics are, the more interesting the world becomes.

The Medieval Towns of Europe

"I have always had a certain respect and feeling for a great many towns in Europe, the towns of the middle ages, the towns that are mellowed, that are quaint in their make-up. There is poetry in their make-up, a harmony between them and their environment, a rhythm of contents which flows through both the city and its people. Their master builders recognized the value of proper settings for their buildings, the harmony between them and their environment. It is because they built with an eye for beauty and fitness that the cities of those days are so interesting, and that they fit so well the land upon which they were built.

"Their builders enjoyed the further inspiration from the landscape by which they were surrounded. They saw the value of wide sky line, which produced in the jutting irregular roofs all the light and shade desired. This they considered as seriously in placing the building as in making the design itself. This is why we are charmed by those quaint old towns and cities that are really homes for the people, full of enjoyment and contentment, cities that will remain so long as stone lies upon stone, cities

that have long appreciated anything that would make them beautiful.

"What a contrast to the form of the cities of our continent, cities that have as a rule been laid out on the block system! Usually the designers—because the cities have all been designed on paper to be executed in the field—did not pay so much attention to whether these cities were to be real homes for those that had to dwell in them as to whether they could get more dollars for the land that they were selling. With their modern engineering devices, they have compelled the land to fit the plan, and obstructions in the way of the successful execution of design have been obliterated by the modern introduction of hydraulic work.

An American Sacrifice

"We have never for a minute questioned the infallibility of the plan, but we have washed down hills of ages' standing that a city just sprung into being might be laid out on the checker-board plan. I should here call your attention to the wonderful opportunity of the city of Seattle, Wash., surrounded by the most beautiful environment that perhaps has been given to any of our American cities. And this wonderful environment has not been considered at all in the laying out of that city.

"As a matter of fact, the ultimate practicability of any plan depends upon its harmony with the laws of nature. A man-made plan that flies in the face of the tenets of nature, which presumes to set up those of man in defiance, must inevitably produce an artificial civilization which cannot stand. A civilization which works in accord with nature, which accepts the condition she makes, turning them to account for the greater beautification and charm of the city, is the one which in the long run is going to be successful, which will produce a saner, better balanced, beauty-appreciating race of people, which will create, in short, a higher and finer civilization than that artificial type, which, while it permits a man to arrive at his business in so much shorter time and allows him to run from one thing to another with less expenditure of effort and money, makes no provision for the cultivation

of his soul. A little inconvenience for the sake of better environment is well worth its cost. To shut out nature from man's whole life is to shut out the inspiration of noble and humanitarian things. The artificial state has come to be the producer of insanity, crime, and immorality.

The Individuality of Towns

"Each city should develop its own characteristics, beautify its own situation, individualize its people and their possessions. That is the best way to safeguard the love for a town by its own people. Talent is too often driven away from a town, because no opportunity exists for development. No one knows better the needs and desires of a city than its own citizens, and no one is better qualified to direct its affairs. Each city with its good and bad qualities, should stand as a true expression of the character of its people. Each city should have its peculiarities, its own interests, and its local expression, rather than to become the copy of some other town, developed on a cut and dried plan. Are our cities to have the charm of individuality? Is the American city to be simply a commercial proposition, or is it to be a city of ideal homes?

"The American home is the foundation upon which the world's greatest democracy rests, and in it should center the whole force of city planning. In order to foster the highest ideals in its people and to be an expression of the best in mankind, the city should first of all be homelike.

Town Planning in England

"England can teach us a great deal in the appreciation of the great outdoors and how to fit the home surroundings into it, and to harmonize with it the building of towns and cities. It is but recently that we had amongst us the great city planner, Mr. Raymond Unwin, who talked to us on the garden cities of England. We have with us today Mr. Thos. H. Mawson, landscape architect and honorary associate of the Royal Institute of British Architects. Mr. Mawson is perhaps the greatest landscape architect of the present day in the British Isles. He has just told me that

he has planned more parks than any other man in Europe.

"I want to read this letter which has just been received from the Secretary of the Civic Guild of Toronto:

You will be interested to learn that the Guild, in co-operation with the University and the Board of Trade, secured the services of the eminent landscape architect, Mr. Thomas Mawson, for a course of six lectures. These were delivered last week in University Convocation Hall, and while the audience numbered only between five and eight hundred, a good deal of interest has been aroused, which we hope will forward the civic improvement propaganda.

"It seems to me that the presence of five to eight hundred people, a series of lectures of this sort demonstrated between of this sort, demonstrated a very notable interest in public improvements and betterment in the city of Toronto." (Applause).

Mr. Mawson was introduced and spoke as follows:

Thomas H. Mawson

"Mr. Chairman and gentlemen: As a member of the teaching staff in the School of Civic Design, in the University of Liverpool, I feel that I may speak with some degree of liberty when I come to America. For, when we were collecting our data upon which our young men should be trained, the first thing that we did was to send our friend and the head of the school, Professor Riley, to collect all the reports he could get hold of, and to gather such information on city planning as could be obtained in America. Amongst our most valued treasures in the library of the Liverpool University, is that magnificent scheme for the regeneration of Chicago, of which Mr. Burnham is the author.

"We have just listened to a most interesting panegyric on the mellowness and quaintness of old European towns. With that description I entirely agree, but I am just reminded of a use which was once made of the word 'mellow' by a famous politician, well known in Chicago. I mean Mr. Joseph Chamberlain. Sitting opposite to him and always on the lookout for some flaw which could be exposed, was his lifelong friend, Sir William Harcourt. Sir William had to follow Mr. Chamberlain, who in his re-

marks had said, 'The union between the two parties—that is a section of the Liberal Party and of the Conservatives—had produced a mellowing influence on both.' That was too good an opportunity to be lost by Sir William Harcourt. He took up the word 'mellow' and tried to see what could be made out of it, and to discover what its real root meaning was. He said: 'We speak of a "mellow" pear. Supposing we were to use some other word than "mellow," what word would we substitute?' And, of course, everybody knew that word was 'rotten.' Then going on to apply another meaning, he said: 'But you speak also of the "mellowness" of old age. What do you mean by that? You mean that some poor old fellow has reached the period of senile decay.' Really, gentlemen, I think that is a term we may sometimes apply to some of these intensely interesting, picturesque, old European towns. They stand in need of the sanitary expert.

"Now, you know, gentlemen, that we have had in Great Britain many famous artists, great lovers of nature. I speak freely on this point because I myself am one of the keenest lovers of nature and have for years elected to live in the lake district in Westmoreland, the most beautiful part of the British Isles. The picturesqueness, as you know, which we get in some of our artists' work is delightful to live with when it is in line and color, and suitably hung on our walls. Take George Moreland's 'The Post Boy's Return,' for instance; it shows the nag just being put into the stable and a few pigs running about. You say, 'It is perfectly delightful; the man is a genius.' But I am perfectly sure, gentlemen, that with that kind of picturesque-ness you would not care to live.

Greek and Roman City Building

"But there is one real sense in which this European picturesqueness gives invaluable lessons to us, and that has been the outcome of the application of the methods of the strictest capitalism; I mean, that of the Greeks. The Greeks built up their scheme to fit the contours of the hills, and valleys and the varying contour of the land. They arranged great architectural schemes which had a

distinctly local application, which were actually built in the mind of the designer on the site of the city itself. The Romans, on the contrary prepared their schemes in their offices. They could not be troubled with either the city contour or anything else. Like Voltaire, who wrote the best history when not troubled about facts, they built best when not troubled with the conditions of the sites. Therefore you find that whilst the ancient remains of Greek art even in its decay, suggests perennial youthfulness, that of the Roman looks what it is; if it is in decay, it is literally and in every part in ruins. So in our old towns, the picturesqueness which comes from a study of the site itself, is always delightful, always charming, and full of inspiration to the real designer.

"As the chairman has already said it, may I, as an Englishman, be allowed to say, that I think that your inspiration is based much more on Rome than on Greece and that you would do well to study that seemingly haphazard picturesqueness which is, nevertheless, the result of deep study?

"In the spring of the year, when I was in America lecturing at some of your universities, I made, for the time at my disposal, a very close study of certain problems with which you have to deal. The one thing which struck me everywhere, especially in the city of Washington—not in that part of the city of Washington where you are going to rear such a magnificent governmental center, in which I think probably the finest conception that has ever been worked out the development of any governmental city is to be displayed, but in the outskirts of the city where you are building the ordinary private residences—is that you are carving off the hill tops and filling up the valleys. All this seemed to me, with my British sense of economy, to be an utter waste of money and effort, and to be in many ways the grossest form of extravagance, and, most important of all, to be the loss of a great opportunity.

The Growth of English Towns

"I think that in our quaint old English villages, from which we may learn so much, we often sense this charm

simply because of the way in which these towns were developed. Sheep tracks were developed into bridle paths, bridle paths into roads, and these roads were afterwards made into streets. Perhaps we started with the track of the sheep on the mountain side, which always follows the best contours of the land. Thus the grouping was arranged around the contours of those charming closes and domestic erections which you can see in such towns as Durham and Norwich, and even in a flat city like Salisbury. There you get the charm, I think, which comes from proper attention to contour and surroundings. Here the chairman and I agree. You have many valuable lessons here which have been too much neglected by city planners.

"Now, in comparing schemes for city plans in America and also in England, you have certain sociological differences to take into account. In England our monuments are all underground. In America, I think you will generally agree with me, they are mostly above ground. I mean, that in England we have started with perfect systems of sanitation, a wonderful supply of water to every town in the kingdom, and an excellent development of gas and electricity, all underground and owned by the municipalities. We have begun with the *utilitaria*, and from this point we have taken up the consideration of housing problems. Eventually, after we have settled these other problems, we hope to arrive at the grand external expression and to further emphasize that individuality which is the charm of Oxford or Edinburgh. You, I think, properly, in having started at the other end, have been meeting, just as much as we have, local conditions. You have probably done the only thing which you could do, but still you will probably have to come back to us and learn something from us in the matter of these more utilitarian but all important matters connected with town planning.

The Housing of the Working Classes

"This brings me to a problem which is very much at our doors in England, I mean the housing of the working classes. We realize in England that if we are to

keep our place in the industrial world, if we are to keep up side, shall I say, with our friends in America, we must do what we can to secure a continuity of brain and muscle in the workers.

"After the passing of the corn laws there was a tremendous growth of the Lancashire towns. Population and trade came to us so quickly that we could not adjust ourselves to new conditions, and we found that consumption and all the other terrors which have time and again invaded not only England but the other centers of industrialism were creating such ravages that something had to be done to improve the conditions. Therefore a party of politicians, at that time in worse odor than the Socialists are today, proposed that certain regulations should be brought about for the working of the factories. That was the beginning of the first factory act in England. But the government paid so little heed to these reformers and were so afraid of offending the capitalists that they refused to do anything at all. In the end the manufacturers themselves came to the help of these agitators and told the government that unless something was done to improve conditions it would be absolutely impossible to rely upon a continuance of really good men and women for the factories. Therefore we arrived at our factories acts and, today, just as much as in those early days, we realize that our workers have to be housed under better conditions than formerly, and that the cost of this housing must bear some definite relation to the financial position of the workers themselves.

English Building and Town Planning Regulations

"Now, I wonder if it would interest you to know how during the last few years the work of town planners has been very much simplified by government measures. Of course, we have had our model by-laws, which are excellent. We have had, for the last fifty years by-laws to regulate the amount of window space in proportion to floor area. The window space is required to equal one-tenth of the floor area and half of window space must open. Ventilating space

is thus provided to the amount of one-twentieth of the floor area.

"But until three years ago, we had no by-laws, no act of Parliament, which helped us in the matter of planning building estates. These estates belonged to private individuals, and it was considered that to interfere with their arrangement was to attack individual liberty, especially the liberty of the land owner.

"In recent years, however, we have had several politicians of great daring. One of them, Mr. John Burns, has given us a magnificent town planning act. This act allows a municipal corporation to plan the whole of the land for miles out into the country, so that when the roads are eventually taken over by the public authorities, we shall be quite certain that they have been laid out in the interest of the public, who have to pay for their upkeep.

"Under the old conditions, we were allowed to build fifty-two houses to the acre; under the new conditions, we may decide to build no more than ten or fourteen.

The Width of Roadways

"In the matter of roads, we are now allowed to regulate their width in relation to the needs of the population and to the commercial activities of particular districts. Therefore, instead of having, as formerly an arterial street, say forty feet wide with a twenty-four foot roadway, we may place our houses farther back, so as to get the requisite amount of air space, and reserve the balance, sixteen feet, to be added to actual improved roadway when the traffic needs of the district require it. Therefore, not only has the cost of road-making, which has such a direct bearing on the cost of building, been altered for the better, but our arterial roads, which take the automobile traffic, are increasing in width year by year.

"The town planning act has also helped us very considerably in that it allows us to apportion certain areas for manufactures and certain other areas for public buildings, and so on.

"My friend, the chairman, will be particularly interested to learn that by declaring that the river banks are too low

for reasonable drainage and that the hill tops too high for the supply of water, we may have the viewpoints reserved to us for public parks and the river frontages for those beautiful river parkways for which you Americans are so famed abroad. That has been done by the town planning act.

Town Planning and the Taxation of Land Values

"But John Burns is not the only farsighted man in the nation, and he has been very ably backed up by that most notorious surely of all men in England, Lloyd-George. 'My dear Burns,' said the clever chancellor, in effect, 'This act of yours is very fine, but you know you are not going to get very far with it unless you have some financial support. I think we can manage that, however. We will adopt a system of land values taxation.' So this system of taxation was adopted, but its main purpose was not so much the raising of revenue as the fixing of land values.

"So the land owners, who thought the public authority might want to take over their land in five or six years, and who, therefore, tried to persuade the commissioner that the land was extremely valuable, had the satisfaction of paying rates on a very, very high assessment. They may, on the other hand, say, to reduce the rates, 'This land will never be required; you can do nothing with it; it is only worth fifty pounds per acre at the very most.' And the assessor may answer, 'Well, I don't agree with you; I think it is worth sixty,' and that is the sum at which the land is rated. But if the municipality decides that it will extend its park system, it may take over that land at sixty pounds per acre, so that whilst the man has saved something on his rates, he has conceivably lost something in the final bargain. This is roughly how the act works in theory, but in practice the land owner is a generous autocrat, who is beginning to take a lively and patriotic interest in city development.

"But the act will help us financially in another way. If, through the action of the municipality, certain improvements have taken place in a district, so that there is an accretion in the value of the

land, and if, on that account, your land, which was assessed five years ago at 100 pounds per acre, sells today for 600 pounds, Mr. Lloyd-George sends around one of his clerks, who says, 'Mr. James, you are assessed at 100 pounds per acre, but you have sold your land for 600 pounds; please hand over to the government a check for 100 pounds.' That is one-fifth of the betterment value or unearned increment.

"Now, I want to point out, gentlemen, that this has really a most important bearing upon the subject in hand, for with rates such as we have in many of our English towns, of seven, eight, nine, and even ten shillings in the pound, it has been almost impossible at times to consider much-needed improvements. But with a part of this new revenue for the municipality, they may venture upon schemes which up to two years ago would have met with the derision of every rate-payer in the whole of the district. So you may hope that in a few years from now, when you come to visit England again, you will see very great advancements in the matter of the housing of people.

The Garden Cities of England

"There is another movement going on, similar in some respects to that relating to the housing of the working classes around our towns, and that is the development of modern industrial villages. The most beautiful one, and probably the most successful one, is that at Port Sunlight, owned by the Lever Brothers. There you have a community of 3,000 inhabitants. It has its own church, at which everybody seems to meet on Sunday, whether they are Anglicans or Presbyterians—a great result for the promoter to have secured, I think. They also have magnificent schools, institutes, a library, an art gallery, which today probably contains one of the finest collections of pictures and works of art of any art gallery in England, for the cultural improvement of the people of Port Sunlight. There is a similar enterprise at Bourneville, and another at Earswick.

"Great firms, instead of enlarging their works within the areas of the old towns where land is becoming increasingly valuable, took themselves and

their working people out into the country to work under entirely new conditions. They started there *de novo*, arranging the cottages in picturesque groups on the lines of the old English villages, with perhaps in some cases sixteen or even eighteen to the acre, but certainly not more than that. A great number of these villages are springing up and they have been going a sufficient length of time to prove that they are financially on a sound basis.

The Commercial Value of Improved Living Conditions

"It was said that most of the villages were the outcome of philanthropy. I put this point to my friend and client, the founder of Port Sunlight, Sir William Lever, and he said, 'Nothing at all of the kind; it was from beginning to end a commercial proposition, and one which has paid the firm over and over again.' As he pointed out, whenever you want to make an improvement or extension in a city, it is not the rebuilding of your works or the rehousing of your people under ideal conditions which costs money; it is really clearing away the mistakes and the debris of past generations. Therefore, it is better to go to a new site and develop your enterprise on the best and most scientific lines.

"Among my slides which I showed at the Toronto University I had a number of tables showing what has been the development of the children who go to these new industrial centers. When a man and his wife have reached the age of forty, the change of the surroundings makes but very little difference to them. But the children start with new ideals. As Port Sunlight has now been in existence for twenty-five years, the statistics which have been collected year

by year and tabulated by the medical officer of health are now reliable and prove beyond the slightest question that, as compared with centers like Liverpool and Birkenhead, the village pays in the increased vitality and mentality of the workers employed by the firm.

America May Learn from England

"I commend these ideas to you, gentlemen. There are two directions in which I think England may offer you suggestions. We, on our part, come to America year by year to learn what we can from you. We realize and value the knowledge of your architects who have the great influences of the Ecole Beaux Arts grafted on to your strenuous native stock, and who are, on the monumental side of architecture, doing greater works than we in England. On the other hand, in the matter of the housing of the people and also in the matter of the designing of parks and public gardens, for your best lessons, if I may say so, you may safely send to the old country." (Applause.)

CHAIRMAN JENSEN: "I think Mr. Mawson has said something that should stand as a lesson to those of us who are interested in better conditions for Chicago. Especially will I call your attention to the housing conditions of the poor. Those of you who know the West Side know that you cannot have a good and beautiful city with ideal conditions on its fringe and rotten conditions in its interior." (Applause.)

Before the meeting adjourned Mr. W. M. R. French, Director of the Art Institute, extended—through the chairman—an invitation to those present to attend a meeting at the Art Institute later in the afternoon to hear Mr. Mawson speak further on this subject.

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THE DECAPITALIZATION OF PUBLIC UTILITIES

On Saturday, December 9, 1911, Mr. Delos F. Wilcox, chief of the Bureau of Franchises of the Public Service Commission for the First District of New York, and author of an authoritative two-volume work on "Municipal Franchises" and a number of well-known books on municipal government in America, addressed the City Club on the subject of "The Decapitalization of Public Utilities." Mr. Samuel Dauchy, Chairman of the City Club Committee on Traffic and Transportation, presided.

Mr. Wilcox spoke as follows:

Delos F. Wilcox

"On June 30, 1901, the capitalization of the street railways of Chicago was roughly \$120,000,000, the aggregate par value of outstanding stocks and bonds being very nearly the same as the aggregate market value. Five years later the capitalization was hammered down to an appraisal of \$50,000,000 by dint of a long campaign for municipal ownership, with franchises expiring and maintenance neglected. Even that appraisal was about one-third for franchise values, cable scrap and city pavements. Then came rehabilitation, not only of the physical roads but also of the capital value. In another five years the capitalization as represented by the agreed-upon purchase price was back past the 120 millions of 1901. This new capitalization, of course, represents a much greater intrinsic value than did the capitalization of ten years ago, but it certainly includes many millions that ought not to be carried as a permanent liability.

"The United States is deeply indebted to Chicago for its contribution to the problem of street railway control in the settlement ordinances of 1907. It is

generally conceded that in those ordinances Chicago set up a standard far in advance of the general practice of American cities. As a student of franchises my chief quarrel with that settlement is its failure to recognize the necessity of decapitalization. While professedly indeterminate, with the right reserved to the city to purchase the roads at any time it steps up with the cash, these franchises include in price certain elements which, under the circumstances, it may have been necessary to include temporarily, but which by all the canons of sound municipal finance should not be permanently capitalized. The result is that with no provision for writing off old franchise values, scrap values and pavement values, you find the price at which you would be able to take over the roads getting farther out of your reach year by year, when it was already out of your reach at the start. The inevitable result of such a situation is the diminishing value to the city of the indeterminate franchise and the purchase clause for purposes of control. If you wanted to buy at the end of twenty years you would have to pay not only for a new road, but also in part for an old road and for certain franchises that had long since expired. Largely as a result of the Chicago settlement, public utility companies generally are coming to see the necessity of accepting an indeterminate franchise and a purchase clause wherever public interest in franchises is keen enough to demand these concessions from them. They now bend their energies either to fixing the purchase clause so that it will be wholly unworkable or to fixing the purchase price so that it will be increasingly impossible for the city to pay it.

Street Railway Investments and City Indebtedness

"The extent to which the ownership of city streets has slipped away from the public through the granting of franchises and the invitation to private capital to lay its fixtures in the public ways is simply astounding. Exact figures are not really available. But a single comparison will illustrate my meaning. In 1907 the aggregate gross indebtedness of the 158 cities of the United States having a population of over 30,000 was eighteen hundred and ninety millions of dollars, while the outstanding stocks and bonds of the street and electric railways of the United States was almost exactly twice that amount. It is true that the street railway figures included many interurban roads and roads in cities of less than 30,000 population, as well as all street railway property not located in the streets. It is also true that the figures represent par values of securities, not appraised value of property, but in view of the liberal rules of appraisal that are rapidly becoming fixed in the practice of the country, thanks to the praiseworthy efforts of high-paid engineers to protect their clientele and of the courts to maintain their role as guarantors of vested interests, a man would be quite foolhardy to claim that a general appraisal of street and electric railways for purchase would fix upon a figure much, if any, less than their total outstanding capitalization. Think of it! For the cities of the United States to acquire the street railway systems at the present time would necessitate the doubling, perhaps the trebling, of the gross municipal debt now outstanding. And the street railways are but one of the public utilities! There are also the gas and electric plants, the telephone system, the docks and railroad terminals, not to mention a good many water plants. A few years ago San Francisco had almost no municipal debt. Then at one outburst it authorized the issuance of bonds to the amount of \$18,000,000 to provide funds for various much needed public improvements. This issue alone would give San Francisco twice as much debt as Detroit has, and Detroit is now a larger city, yet San Francisco finds that to purchase the ex-

isting private water supply would take \$30,000,000 more, which would be only a start toward getting an adequate system—and this San Francisco's first municipal utility!

Financing the Subway

"In subway matters New York City has followed a policy which, in certain particulars, is far in advance even of the Chicago settlement ordinances. The subway now in operation will become the absolute property of the city after a term of years without a penny of taxes having been levied to pay for it, outside of the current expenses of the Rapid Transit Commission that designed it and supervised its construction. Yet even this arrangement has proved astonishingly improvident. The Subway with its equipment has cost in round figures 100 millions of dollars. The city contributed its credit for somewhat more than half of this amount, while the operating company has put in the rest, for equipment and as a contribution toward the construction cost of the Brooklyn extension. The subway is now earning a little over 14 per cent gross and about 8½ per cent net on the entire investment. The share of the capital contributed by the city is taken care of by a rental that includes interest on the city bonds plus 1 per cent for sinking fund. Under this arrangement the city bonds can be paid off from the accumulations of the sinking fund in less than 45 years. Meantime the company is earning on its own investment the average rate for the entire capital plus the surplus profits accruing from the city's share over and above rental, making 16 or 17 per cent in all. Here is the point. Under its lease the company is not bound to build a rod of extension or to operate a rod if built by the city. The present subway has been inhumanly overcrowded for years. The city has been hard pressed by its debt limit, and for three or four years subway construction was practically at a standstill. And yet the present subway is earning enough money so that if interest and sinking fund charges at the city's rate were allowed on the entire investment and the balance of the profits were put into a separate sinking fund and were permitted to accumu-

late, within 45 years not only would the present subway with the entire equipment be paid for out of earnings, but an additional fund would be accumulated sufficient to build and equip three or four more subways of equal cost without the necessity of borrowing a dollar on either public or private credit or of levying a dollar of taxes for the purpose. That would mean at least four subways fully equipped and paid for at the end of 45 years. But what will the actual result be under the present lease. There will be one subway with the construction cost paid off, and the equipment cost *to be* paid off during a renewal period of the lease. Meanwhile the city's debt will have been pushed upward to the very last limit possible, and its rate of interest increased because of that fact, and not being able to secure enough funds in that way to fully meet rapid transit needs, the city will probably be driven into other disadvantageous bargains to induce private capital to contribute something on preferential terms.

City Must Have Permanent Control of Streets

"Whatever may be the merits of municipal operation of public utilities, universal experience points unerringly to the necessity, from the public standpoint, of the city's maintaining permanently the control of its streets. This is wholly impossible in good theory as well as in bad practice when the permanent fixtures—a part of the necessary equipment of modern streets—are owned by private corporations under franchises that make it practically impossible to oust them. There are great possibilities in regulation, but, in my judgment, regulation will fail in the long run unless it is supported by franchise conditions that make it comparatively easy to bounce the companies if they do not maintain a proper attitude as public servants.

"It seems to me that the only way out of our present difficulties is to adopt now a policy looking to the ultimate absolute ownership of the streets and all the fixtures in them by the city, and to enforce that policy by compelling franchise-holding companies gradually to withdraw their investments and decapitalize. It seems to me that a charge for the

amortization of at least that portion of the capital represented by street construction sufficient to pay it off within a period of twenty or thirty years, ought to have preference in the distribution of gross earnings over any profits in excess of the minimum return on capital necessary to pay interest charges. The city's policy should be not to invite private capital to invest in its streets as extensively and as permanently as possible, but to make use of private capital as sparingly as possible and use it under conditions that require its withdrawal as speedily as possible.

"It is objected to this proposition, first, that private capital does not care to invest on these terms, and, second, that it is unfair to make the present generation of utility users pay for the plants, which are expected to continue in the service of future generations.

How Capital Would Be Attracted

"To the first objection I enter a denial. It is doubtless true that those promoters and financiers who are accustomed to getting rich quick and often, by the juggling of securities based on public privileges, will look with disfavor upon any plan that makes investments perfectly secure, for with perfect security the opportunity for exceptional profits and for speculative ventures passes away. Nothing could make private capital invested in public utilities so secure as the limitation of its amount and the requirement that it actually be paid off within a definite period. The holders of Chicago street railway securities whose value shrank in five years from 120 millions on the market to 50 millions in the settlement ordinances would hardly object to the kind of security here suggested. Those who maintain that increasing security of investment is attended with increasing difficulty of interesting private capital must certainly find themselves in an untenable position.

"The second objection, namely, that one generation should not be compelled to pay for plants which will continue to be used by succeeding generations is more plausible. And yet what would we think of a city that opened and built its streets entirely from the proceeds of bond issues and then never paid off the

bonds? What would we think of a city that followed the policy of maintaining a permanent debt up to the full value of its permanent assets, out of fear that the taxpayers of the present might contribute something for the benefit of future taxpayers? What would we think of a municipal water plant or electric light plant that was never paid for? What would we think of a man who bought a farm with borrowed money and then borrowed more money from year to year for all the improvements he put on it, and never lifted a finger to pay off the mortgages for fear that his son would get a better start in life than *he* had and thereby lose the educational advantages that come from doing business under difficulties? The burdens of cities increase even more rapidly than their population. There are plenty of debts that will be saddled on the next generation anyway—debts of narrow vision and improvident plans—debts of crookedness and debts of congestion—debts of imperfect education and misdirected play. The very least that the city of the present can do is to pay in full for such streets as it now has and bequeath them unencumbered to the future city along with the burdens of readjustment that will inevitably fall upon it.

Make Utilities Pay for Themselves

"My contention is that public utilities even while being operated under franchises should be paying for themselves out of earnings for the benefit of the city. If necessary, the city could well afford to remit franchise taxes and its share of profits to make this possible. Unless capital investment and purchase price can be decreased, purchase clauses contained in modern franchises will be of comparatively little value in securing and retaining for the city that absolute control of its streets which is essential to public welfare and which is impossible so long as private capital holds a position of part ownership from which it cannot be dislodged at will. The essentially public nature of the street railway business in particular and of all the so-called public utilities in general is being more widely recognized from year to year. The move-

ment towards municipal ownership is held in check by two considerations. One is the inefficiency of our municipal administrations. This difficulty must be removed in any case, whether we have municipal ownership or not, for the present scope of municipal functions, even at the very minimum considered necessary by the rankest reactionary, includes activities so vital to the community life and so expensive that the continuance of municipal inefficiency would inevitably lead to civic damnation in the long run.

"The second difficulty is the financial one. This can be removed and the gradual acquirement of public utilities by the city without the necessity of an enormous increase in debt can be made possible by the plan here suggested. A start in the decapitalization of public utilities should be made with franchise values, obsolete and discarded construction and pavements. Then should follow all fixtures in the streets. Ultimately, even the power plants, rolling stock, and all equipment should be remorselessly paid for.

Provision for Betterments

"It will, of course, be noted that in a growing city the investment in a public utility tends to increase constantly by reason of extensions, additions and betterments. If a fund is accumulated to write off the original capital within a fixed period of years, it may very readily happen that the new capital expended on extensions and improvements during the period will amount to more than the original investment. If the funds accumulated for retiring the original capital are used to buy in the extension bonds, the utility will be able to finance its own development, while at the same time leaving the original securities undisturbed for a longer period. Thus the expense and embarrassments of funding and refunding capital will be avoided and the purchase price will be reduced by being kept from increasing. It is a first principle of sound policy that a public utility should be developed continuously on the theory that it will go right on rendering first-class service without reference to the expiration of franchises or any changes in ownership.

"In order to carry out a systematic and persistent policy of decapitalization, a strong combination of state and local regulation will be necessary. The state has no immediate interest in reducing the amount of private capital invested in local utilities. It is the city that is mainly concerned with the maintenance of control over the streets and the ultimate acquisition of the utility plants. The state is interested in protecting the investors and in regulating the organization and activities of its creatures, the corporations. This state interest extends to the relation of stocks and bonds to bona fide investments, uniform and honest accounting and publicity, safe and adequate service and reasonable rates. The intimate control necessary to compel the adequate maintenance of a public utility during a period when it is being decapitalized for the benefit of the city and properly to supervise construction accounts cannot easily be provided by any but the large cities, unless with the help of a state commission. Moreover, the problem involved in determining the relative importance and the exact relations to each other of state and local regulation has greatly changed during the past ten or fifteen years. With the immense expansion of the interurban street railways, with the development of water powers for the generation of electrical energy, with the piping of natural gas for hundreds of miles, even across entire states, for lighting and heating cities, with the greatly increased importance of the long distance branch of the telephone business—it might almost be said that purely local public utilities have disappeared and home rule in regulation become impossible. Certainly, the smaller communities must have the assistance of state regulation to help them enforce the financial provisions of their franchise contracts. The state itself may find it necessary to acquire the water powers, the natural gas fields and the through pipe lines. At any rate, it must be in a position to regulate these

matters and co-ordinate the activities of the local operators whether they be private companies or the municipalities themselves.

Local Regulation of Utilities

"Nevertheless, it is my judgment that in large cities, where utilities assume a vast importance locally, both with reference to general social development and with reference to the control of congested streets, the municipal government should have a department or commission charged solely with the regulation of the construction and operation of public utilities. Such a department or commission could take the place of the state commission within the limits of the city except with regard to certain fundamental matters which are pre-eminently state affairs. With a general franchise law under which the cities will be definitely authorized and even encouraged to make arrangements for the gradual decapitalization of the public utilities using their streets, and with adequate state supervision to enforce honest and scientific accounting and capitalization and to adjust the interurban relations of utilities, the way will be open for the re-acquirement of public control of the local highways with immense advantage to the freedom, happiness and progress of the people. The partial alienation of our local highways and the development of an entirely new system of state and national highways wholly under private ownership has so disturbed the balance between public and private interests as to menace our national life. The restoration of the balance, so that men will at least sometimes take sides against themselves in favor of the public welfare, so that in fact they will be expected to do so—is an end to which we may all devote ourselves with confident enthusiasm.

"The streets should belong to the people. It is time that we began to pay off the mortgages." (Applause.)



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CHICAGO'S HEALTH DEPARTMENT— ITS ACTIVITIES AND NEEDS

The need for an increased appropriation for the Health Department was discussed before the City Club on Friday, December 15th, by Dr. George B. Young, Commissioner of Health; Dr. Frank Billings and Mr. Charles B. Ball, Chief Sanitary Inspector.

At the conclusion of the meeting the following resolution, adopted on December 7th by the City Club Committee on Public Health and approved the same date by the Directors of the Club, was read:

Resolved, That the Committee on Public Health of the City Club of Chicago, after a careful study of the needs of the Health Department of the City of Chicago, hereby endorse the request of the Health Commissioner that an increase of \$180,000.00 in the appropriation for the work of the Health Department be granted and that the City Council allow such increase over last year in the appropriation for the work of the department.

Members were urged by the chairman, Mr. Sherman Kingsley, to write to the members of the Council Committee on Finance urging that the request for an increased appropriation for the Health Department be granted.*

Mr. Kingsley spoke as follows:

Sherman Kingsley

"Gentlemen of the City Club: We have met to-day in the interest of perhaps the most important branch of our city gov-

ernment. I do not believe that there is any other one thing that comes so close to the lives of yourselves and your families as the various and varied activities of the Health Department, which every year assume a greater and greater importance in this general field. We are going to hear to-day about the needs of that department. There is a long list of Health Department activities—about which we will hear more later—which begin with the very beginnings of our existence and affect us in some way through to the end of that existence. We have about 640,000 children under the age of 16 in this town. The Health Department has a very important function relating to those little children. The first time that anybody ever takes official cognizance of them as human beings is when they get into the public schools; within a few years the medical inspection in the schools has become one of the most vital things in the city of Chicago.

"We happen to be very fortunate, I think, in the men who have represented the Department of Health. We stand ever ready in this city and elsewhere to condemn public officials, but I want to tell you something about our present Health Commissioner that I think ought to make us reverse that order of things and run up the flag. We are greatly to be congratulated in the present occupant of that office. Not very long ago he had an opportunity to leave the city of Chicago and to accept one of the highest positions in the United States in his field—a thing that any man would be excused for doing—but he had put his shoulder to the wheel, his hand to the plow, and he stuck. That is the kind of a man that we have in this job at the present moment.

"Dr. Young is going to tell us some-

*The members of the Finance Committee, with their addresses, are as follows:

John A. Richert.....	2603 S. Halsted St.
George F. Harding Jr.....	164 W. Washington St.
Bernard W. Snow.....	1209 Peoples Gas Bldg.
John S. Derpa.....	9050 Commercial Ave.
Dennis J. Egan.....	654 W. Eighteenth St.
Anton J. Cermak.....	20, 112 N. La Salle St.
James H. Lawley.....	1925 W. Chicago Ave.
Albert W. Belfuss.....	778 Milwaukee Ave.
Lewis D. Sitts.....	19 E. South Water St.
Peter Reinberg.....	5446 N. Robey St.
Frank J. Wilson.....	822 Schiller Bldg.
James A. Kearns.....	5510 Lafayette Ave.
Charles E. Reading.....	11520 S. Michigan Ave.
William F. Ryan.....	504 Sherman St.

thing about the needs of the Health Department, and then we are going to hear about one or two functions a little later on. Doctor Young, we are very glad to have you with us." (Applause.)

Dr. George B. Young

"Gentlemen, it is very seldom the duty of a speaker on an occasion of this kind to begin by puncturing his own reputation. I, unfortunately, however, feel compelled in the interest of truth to do that. Mr. Kingsley has said that I had an opportunity to leave my present position for another position. That is not strictly in accordance with the facts. The facts are these: I had an opportunity to be a candidate for another position. That is a very different proposition. I did have the opportunity to be a candidate, and I believe I could have made a fairly good run for the thing.

"I have been asked to speak on the needs of the Health Department. The needs of the Health Department may be roughly divided into two sorts. In the first place, there are what might be called legal needs, the needs for extended authority, and in the second place there are the needs which relate to the means for the execution of the authority which has already been conferred.

"The first category may be divided again into two headings. The first one would relate to the things that we ought to be able to have authorized under the law, but cannot; and the second, those which can be authorized under the law but have not been.

"Speaking briefly of the first heading, the Health Department in Chicago stands in a very unique position. It is the most important Health Department, as far as I know, on the face of the American continent. It occupies the evil eminence of being almost the only health department in any large city, certainly the only health department in any one of the very large American cities, which possesses no authority to carry out and execute any of the tasks which are intrusted to it, if it becomes necessary in the execution of those tasks to take hold of the offender and make him correct the offense. Under limitations of the Chicago charter, and I understand under the limitations of the Illinois constitution, no

authority can be delegated to the Health Department that is in any way legislative. In New York, the Health Commissioner, the Quarantine Officer of the Port, and the Police Commissioner get together and say that on the first of January, 1912, all milk coming into the city must be pasteurized, and that is the law in New York and they have the means to enforce it. In Philadelphia when they go out and find a man committing a gross nuisance by some insanitary condition on the premises, the Health Department steps in, corrects the nuisance and sends the bill to the man that owns the property, and he has to pay it.

Enforcing the Law

"In Chicago, you send a notice and the property owner does not pay any attention to it. Then you send a notice and ask him why he did not pay any attention to the first one—at least that is what I have found to be the practice. At the end of five or ten or fifteen days, you send another notice asking him to pay some attention to your notices and then you send him another one and tell him that if he doesn't do something in five days you will sue him. In five days you send him a notice and tell him he must answer this notice and that if he does not answer it in five days you will surely sue him, and then perhaps you do sue him.

"You sue the man and the suit goes in at the end of a calendar with four or five hundred similar suits ahead of it. If the summer vacation comes on there is nothing doing, but, if the court is sitting, in three, four, five, six, seven or eight months the case comes to trial. By that time the man may have died or moved out of town, the neighbors who have been unfavorably affected by the nuisance have gone on being unfavorably affected by the nuisance; the people whose health was jeopardized by the insanitary condition may have had the jeopardy of the peril of infection converted into a reality, been infected, died, been comfortably buried, and the man sued comes into court and says he is not ready and he gets a continuance.

"This is no imaginary story. It is exactly what I have found to be the practice in doing some of the business in the

Health Department, and I don't say it has not been necessary. We get a lot done, nevertheless, because we grind along, and after awhile something happens.

"A case came up the other day in which we found that an old offender was violating, not one, two or three, but six or seven different city ordinances. What could we do about it? We could threaten suit. The same offender, I understand, was tried for similar habitual offenses a year ago and was fined in the neighborhood of four hundred dollars. I don't know anything about the records from personal observation, but I am told the fine was afterward remitted. Therefore, I say the greatest need of the Health Department is some authority which would place in the hands of the Health Department the means of reaching the evils which it is supposed to correct.

"The trouble, I will explain, is this: It is the rule in the Municipal Court—and I have no doubt the rule is a wise one—that in quasi-criminal cases, they will not issue a warrant unless there is reason to suppose that the offender is about to leave town, to put himself outside of the jurisdiction of the court, to become a fugitive from justice. Now, practically all of the offenses committed against the sanitary code of Chicago are of a quasi-criminal character. Consequently, under that ruling of the Municipal Court, we can not get a warrant.

"This morning as I walked from my home to the elevated, I found a number of men engaged in committing a most outrageous nuisance on the street, a violation of the city ordinance. I happened to have my official star on and I 'butted in' and stopped them and I think that is probably about as far as I got. I could not stay there on the job all day, I had something else to do at the City Hall, and by the time I could get anybody there to take them in charge, the offenders would have disappeared. If I called a policeman and said: 'These men are violating a city ordinance, you have a right to arrest them on view,' he might have arrested them and taken them to the Municipal Court, and they would probably have been discharged, because the Municipal Court will not proceed except by summons in quasi-criminal cases.

"One of the most urgent needs of the Health Department, therefore, is some way of getting into its hands the authority to enforce the law.

A Noise Like a Health Department

"I do not think that my skin is any more sensitive than most people's, and I have been so many years in public employment that I am—while not at all insensitive to the demands of public opinion—quite insensitive to the criticism of uninformed opinion. But it does get a little on 'my raw'—which is not very raw—to find the Health Department. I do not say the Commissioner, because the press and the public generally have been most cordial, most considerate, most kind to me ever since I have been in office—held responsible for the maintenance of a great variety of conditions, when all that the Health Department can do to amend these conditions is to serve notice and then have somebody else bring suit. In the language of the street, you can make a noise like a Health Department, but you will never have a real Health Department in Chicago, one that will execute the law exactly as it is written, the very minute an offense is discovered, until you put in the hands of the Health Department enough police power to carry out the remedy, and that is all there is to it. You can appropriate all the money you want to and you won't get a Health Department until you give them that.

"As for the needs of the department as regards the carrying out of the duties which it already has, these duties are so varied, that at Dr. Billings' suggestion I am going to recapitulate even if I run a minute or so over my time.

"The Health Department has jurisdiction over what you eat, what you drink and what you breathe. It is the duty of the Health Department to try to see that the food sold in this city is of a proper quality and handled, prepared and sold in a sanitary manner. It is the duty of the Health Department to see to the water supply of the city and the milk supply of the city, and to see that they are of a standard quality. It is the duty of the Health Department to look after the condition of the air you breathe in the public vehicles and public buildings

—especially the vehicles in which you all have to spend more or less of your time every day—in theaters and other places of gathering. It is the duty of the Health Department to inspect and supervise the air-space ventilation of all the buildings which are erected in the city; to pass on the plumbing plans for all buildings which are erected. It has to register the births, which it does not do, and the deaths, which it does, because you can get born in Chicago any way, but you can't get buried except in one particular fashion.

"It is the duty of the Health Department to make a great variety of laboratory analyses. It is the duty of the Health Department to safeguard the welfare of the school children, and through them the welfare of all the homes from which they come and of the state, upon whose existence the preservation of the child as a healthy infant depends. We take care of the child in school as far as we can by supervision in the way of a school inspection, and that does not simply mean keeping out contagious diseases. We are trying to push this work beyond that point. If anything exists that unfavorably affects the child's ability to do its work, if its vision or its speech or its hearing is not what it ought to be, it is the duty of the state to interfere and have those defects set right, that is to say, to indicate to the parents what should be done. If the parents are unable to do it, an attempt should be made to have it done otherwise. We are doing these things on quite a large scale in Chicago.

"Then we have a variety of other duties. We run our public baths, we run a public lodging house; we run the contagious hospital and a number of other things which I will not take time to mention.

The Increase Fictitious

"For all these purposes we had last year \$646,000, which figures out about 25 cents a head for the entire population. For the coming year, the budget, as far as it has gone through the budget-machine, gives us an apparent increase of \$41,000. That increase is fallacious. Owing to the election last spring and to other causes connected

therewith, the budget was very late in passing, and a number of new positions and increases in pay that were authorized in the last year's budget, and were appropriated for from the first of January, could not be taken advantage of until along in the spring. In that way we made a saving of a little over \$24,000. Now, we come into the new year and those places have all been filled and the men must be paid. So, for the general purposes of the department, we will have about \$24,000 less than we had last year. The actual increase on the face of it is \$17,000. Somebody who is quicker at figures than I am can tell us about how much the population of Chicago is supposed to have increased during the last year. I think if you will figure it out you will find that the proposed increase for the benefit of the Health Department will possibly not amount to more than about five cents a head. As a matter of fact, the Health Department is not getting any increase at all.

"Now I do not say that the people who divide the finances are not doing very honestly the best they can, because, of course, they have only so much to appropriate, and they have to spread it. But I do think that some of the things that are being considered by them are not as important as some of the requirements in the Health Department.

"Here are the things that we have wanted especially to do. We wanted to pay the school inspectors a decent wage for the work they do. We have been piling work on these doctors year after year, constantly giving them more to do, and we have not raised their pay. They are receiving the munificent sum of \$66.66 a month for ten month's work, and they pay their own carfare. I tried to get their salaries raised to \$83, but this increase was knocked out.

"One of the duties of the Health Department is to supervise the conditions existing in all the hospitals of the city. Every hospital and home and institution of that kind is licensed by the city, and the city is supposed to supervise them, to see that abuses do not creep into them, that illegal operations are not performed, and that various other conditions, which the law prescribes to be the duty of the Health Department to see

about, are looked after. There has never been any appropriation made for that supervision. Nothing has ever been done about it except in a perfunctory way.

"There is no one charged specifically with the duty of superintending the seventeen public baths of the city. There is quite a large contract here, for a great many people use a great many thousand dollars' worth of supplies. The city will not provide a single telephone for any of the baths. We can not reach any one of the public baths, no matter what the emergency is, without sending a messenger.

Hospital Bureau Needed

"The city runs a lodging house. It runs a contagious disease hospital, an isolation hospital, and the Iroquois Memorial Hospital. The supervision of those institutions is tacked on to the end of somebody else's job, and they necessarily suffer. There is not, there never has been, and never can be any kind of economy or administrative efficiency under such circumstances. I asked to be allowed to establish a Bureau of Hospitals, which would look after baths, lodging houses, etc. It would have cost about \$8,500, as I recall it in round numbers. That is a good deal of money, but it does seem as if the citizens of Chicago, a city of two million and a quarter people, with some scores of public institutions, hospitals, sanitariums, homes, etc., with public baths and these three hospitals for which the municipality is responsible, could afford to spend \$8,500 to get an efficient, economic, businesslike administration of these things, to get an organization which would run them on a co-operative basis instead. But these things we could not get. This Bureau of Hospitals was very near to my personal affections and I was very sorry to lose it.

"Another thing that we are very much interested in is the work of improving the ventilation of street cars, vehicles and so on. Mr. Ball will speak to you about that, and I am glad to say that we fared somewhat better in that respect than we did in the other.

"We wanted the necessary means to go ahead and really do something with the infant mortality problem in Chicago. We asked for means to make the school inspection service a reality. It is a real-

ity now, of course, in so far as we are able to extend it, but we wish to make it a reality in directions in which, so far, we have not been able to go, and to make it even more of a reality in the field that it already partially occupies. We want to do those things and we want to do them very badly. We want money for additional nurses. We are going to get two. I think we ought to have at least fifty."

DR. BILLINGS: "You have sixty now?"

DR. YOUNG: "Yes. There are about three hundred and fifty schools, I think, in the city of Chicago, and each nurse at the present time has from three to four schools.

Where Vital Statistics Count

"We are going to get some increase in some small items. We are going to get some increase for our vital statistics work, that will enable us to make a beginning with the birth registration. I really think that the registration of births is perhaps, in its ultimate results, the most important thing for the health work in this city that could be done for the city. You can not have sanitation on a really high basis unless you can keep books, and you can not keep books if you have not some kind of a base to start from. If you do not know how many children are born, where they are born and under what conditions, you can not have any real estimate of the results of what you are doing. We would like to get money enough to have a real registration of births in this town. That will cost quite a little money. We would like to get money enough to go beyond that, and when the children have been born and have been brought to that critical stage where, in the congested districts, during the first or second summers, so many of them die, make some kind of adequate provision for their protection.

"I was in New York recently and learned a lot. Among other things, I was glad to learn that they had trouble in their Health Department as well as we have, although lack of authority is not one of them. Lack of means, however, it seemed to me, could not possibly be one of their difficulties, when I realized that they were going to have three millions and a quarter for next year, when

we will have but a little less than seven hundred thousand. But they said they had that trouble, and I take their word for it. In the city as a whole the infant death rate was about 17 per cent, as I recall it. Now, having a pretty effective, though not complete, registration of births, they are able to follow up what they call their district work. They know where children are born. They have a nurse in a congested district, and this nurse goes and sees how the baby is. She suggests to the mother what she should do to keep the baby well and all that sort of thing. Then she goes back once in ten days to see what is being done. The rate in the city as a whole is about 17 per cent. The rate for the milk stations, which I will speak of in a minute, is $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The rate among children, which they were able to follow up from the beginning, was $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. You can add nothing to those figures; that tells the whole story.

"I have asked, in round numbers, for \$10,000 to be expended in establishing five milk stations in the more congested parts of the city, from which the Health Department, in the summer, can conduct its welfare activities. We have made some arrangements with the various charitable bodies who are interested in this sort of work that they will provide the milk, if we will furnish the rooms. If we get that \$10,000, I think we will save some babies. I am afraid we are not going to get it." (Applause.)

CHAIRMAN KINGSLEY: "Gentlemen, the reason that the speaker that has just sat down was asked to be a candidate for that job was because he was probably the best man that could be had for it, and I stick to what I said in my original remarks.

"I think you have heard enough now to know the very vast importance of our Health Department. It reminded me a little bit of a story I heard the other day. A man approached another man and asked him for some money, said he wanted to get a meal. The person solicited said: 'Well, I will give you a nickel, but I give it to you to make myself feel better.' And the man said: 'Make it a quarter and enjoy yourself.' This 25 cent Health Department does make us feel a good deal better, but if

we could give Dr. Young 50 cents or a \$1 we could really enjoy ourselves.

"The next speaker knows more about dependents and victims of chronic illness than anybody else, I guess, in the city of Chicago. I do not know of anybody who could give us any better or clearer note on the importance of a Health Department and what a Health Department is, if it is properly administered, than Dr. Frank Billings." (Applause.)

Dr. Frank Billings

"Gentlemen, when I was requested to come here to-day I demurred for two reasons, first, that this is my ninth meeting this week; second, that while I know something about sanitation and the needs of a Health Department like Chicago's I felt that there were a number of other men who could talk better to the point. At the same time I was glad to come if I could say anything that would arouse this influential club and perhaps induce its members to exert their influence toward better things in a helpful way for Dr. Young.

"Those who know the situation in this city, must recognize the fact, first, that Chicago with an enormous population is in many ways still a village. It is a village, in many respects, in its knowledge and its sentiments. Compare it, for instance, with Berlin, a city of about the same size. Berlin is governed in the most satisfactory way as far as the health conditions of the people are concerned. When one asks why that is and why the conditions as they are here, it will be for me simply to repeat what Dr. Young has said: First, lack of power; second, lack of education of the people; third, lack of means.

"Dr. Young has not gone, perhaps, as far as some of us might go in the recognition of the lack of power. Not only is there a lack of sufficient police power in the enforcement of the orders that go out from his department, but there is also lack of power in sending them out. Political interference will prevent carrying them out, even if the police power were sufficient.

"Now, while that is still true, it perhaps is not as true to-day as it was a few years ago. We must give Mayor

Harrison all praise for the fact that after undue influence had been brought to bear upon him, he would go outside of the men who were candidates for the place and make Dr. Young the Commissioner of Health of Chicago. Whether greater power may be given to the Health Department, is a question. Certain constitutional provisions and provisions of the character of Chicago, may prevent that, and yet it may be improved. If it can not be improved by any additional laws, it certainly can be improved by the education of the people.

Education for Health

"Any one who has been in contact with the sick and knows the social conditions of the people, will recognize the fact that the greatest cause of poverty is illness and that anything which will prevent illness will make for the welfare of the people in a financial way. Therefore, the economy of the administration of the Health Department of a city is of tremendous importance to all of us. We spend enormous sums of money for the care of the sick and the care of the poor. If a part of that money were diverted to the Health Department in the beginning, with an efficient administration, we would not need to spend as much money for our poor or for our sick. Until we educate the people to that fact, we will continue in this present rut. When, for instance, our people will permit the spending of millions of money for the purification of the lake water by drainage, and at the same time allow contractors to go out in the lake and dump scows, we are not working economically. When we permit passenger ships from the harbor of Chicago to go out into the harbor in the vicinity where the water intakes are and dump the closets of the ships, we are acting like children, we are acting like people without sense. It will continue to be done as long as the dollar is king, until the people are educated to better things. We can only educate the people to better things by constantly hammering at them and teaching them these facts. An ignorant man recognizes his illness, he cannot recognize its source. He recognizes his poverty, too, but does not recognize its source. You talk of the dramshop, of gambling and

all that as a cause of poverty, there is nothing comparable to sickness in the family; so power and education are the two things that we need above everything else.

"Money could be allowed to Dr. Young in present conditions, and if he had a million he would feel very much more comfortable, but Dr. Young's hands would still be tied.

Consolidation of City and County Would Increase Health Efficiency

"The dual interest in this county is a bad thing for us as far as health matters are concerned, for we not only have here a political situation to meet so far as the city government is concerned, but we have another political situation to meet every two years so far as the county government is concerned. Until that is remedied, if it possibly can be, we will be embarrassed.

"I might talk for another hour and I could not say any more than I have said on these general principles. We are fortunate in having such a man as Dr. Young as the Health Commissioner. In saying that I do not take for one moment one iota from the credit which should be given to former health commissioners. We must give Dr. Evans credit for his administration of the department. It is to Dr. Evans that we owe much of the present efficiency in making things better in the city. Everyone here should preach the gospel of sanitation in the city. This is the most important department that we have. It is far more important to the welfare of the people than the police or fire department, and yet, so far as the city is concerned, it is the least in its consideration. But if we will preach that constantly and try to educate the people, better things will come to us." (Applause.)

Chairman Kingsley: "We have another man to whom this city is very deeply indebted. A few years ago he had a chance to go up and help make Milwaukee more famous, and he stayed by Chicago, because he saw great things to be done here. Mr. Ball elected to stay at a salary of half what he could have secured from the city of Milwaukee, and he is one of the best officials that we have or that any other city has. He

has a very hard job to fill, especially when he tries to prevent somebody from bunching two buildings so that they squeeze out any possible sunlight that might come in between, and when he tries to bring people up out of the basement, so that instead of mixing their bread with the mold and the mildew of basements they may mix it with the proper amount of sunlight. He is the kind of a fellow to have in there and there are not so many of his kind. And he keeps right on doing his good work." (Applause.)

Charles B. Ball

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: This is one of the days when the Health Department feels good. It really looks as if we were likely to get an additional increase of our appropriation to the extent of about two cents per capita from the action of the Finance Committee, which occurred last night.

"I want to tell you something about the needs for some of that money. Perhaps not all of you know this volume which I hold in my hand, the Chicago Municipal Code of 1911. Some of you know it pretty well. Not all of you know all that is in it, I am sure.

"Among the many details to which Dr. Young referred as desirable for the advance of the department, he spoke of the needs of ventilation. There are a great many people in Chicago who, on account of the great importance Dr. Evans attached to fresh air ventilation, have the idea that there were no ventilation laws and no ventilation activities in the Department of Health until his administration. As a matter of fact, there have been on the statute books for some time a number of ventilation laws, and I will take about five minutes to point out to you those laws which are found in this code, and which, like many other things found in that code, are not really enforced.

"It is a rather surprising thing for us who have been in the public service for some time to find how hard the average good citizen will work to get a good law passed, and how quickly after the law is passed he will forget all about it, not realizing, as some of us do, that it is a great deal more necessary that the laws

that we have should be enforced, than that we should add to the body of those laws, however necessary the additions may be.

The Ventilation Law

"Chicago and Illinois are to be congratulated on the first ventilation law passed thirty years ago. The State of Illinois on May 30, 1881, passed a law providing that the Health Commissioner, in any city of 50,000 inhabitants or upwards, should be the authority to determine upon the plans of buildings which were to constitute places of habitation. So far as I have been able to find, that is the first state or municipal law in the United States with respect to ventilation. It provides that the Health Commissioner shall examine the said plans and specifications for his approval or rejection as to the ventilation of rooms, light and air shafts, windows, the ventilation of water closets, drainage and plumbing. Under the law we have authority to examine plans and, at the present time, two men are employed in the Sanitary Bureau as plan examiners. No plan goes to the Building Department for the issuance of a permit until it has passed through the Sanitary Bureau. But we are unable to administer that law of 30 years ago for the lack of purely scientific methods of determining upon ventilation.

"The second law to which I shall call your attention is the hospital ordinance which was passed on June 8, 1907. It provides first that hospital rooms shall have windows, and that in case said windows shall not secure 2,400 cubic feet of air per hour by natural ventilation, each room shall be fitted with such appliances for ventilation as shall secure to each patient at least 2,400 cubic feet of fresh air per hour. Dr. Billings could tell you that what shall be done for the ventilation of hospitals is one of the most disputed points in the broad field of sanitation. I assure you that that law alone as applied to the 300 existing hospitals in the city of Chicago might well engage the attention of a very skilled man.

"The bakery law, Section 145 of the Code, provides that ventilating construction and equipment shall be of such character that a complete change of air in

all parts of the bakery shall be made at least four times each hour. At the present time, we are unable to deal thoroughly and strictly with the remnants of our cellar bakeries, because of our inability to determine whether or not they fully comply with the requirements of the ordinance.

"The next subject is the street car ordinance. On January 31, 1910, Section 2210 of the Code was made enforceable by the Commissioner of Health. Among other interesting provisions as to the sanitation of street cars, concerning which nothing has been done for lack of force up to this time, is this:

"Cars shall be so ventilated that the amount of air entering the car for ventilation shall be at the rate of 350 cubic feet for each passenger per hour.

"Then it goes on to state how that air shall be delivered. The ventilation of street cars is a most interesting expert study at the present time. Very few street cars have been adequately ventilated up to the present time. That one subject would engage the attention of a number of people skilled in such matters.

Regulation of Factories and Workshops

"There has been for more than 20 years a requirement in our code as to the ventilation of factories and workshops. Section 1399 of the present code says:

No person, being the owner, proprietor, lessee, manager or superintendent of any store, factory, workshop or other structure or place of employment where workmen and workwomen are employed for wages, shall . . . allow the same . . . to be overcrowded or inadequate, faulty or insufficient in respect of light, ventilation, heat and cleanliness; and in every such building or apartment, or room in any such building, where one or more persons are employed as aforesaid, at least five hundred cubic feet of air space shall be allowed to each and every person employed therein, and fresh air supplied by ventilation at the rate of four complete changes of air per hour during the hours of employment. No part of such air supply shall be taken from any cellar or basement.

"How many places of employment are there in this city? I asked a man today, who is thoroughly familiar with the subject, to determine that question, and he stated that in his opinion there are

around 70,000 places of employment to which this law applies.

"It is an interesting fact in that connection that the state law with respect to ventilation of factories and workshops is complicated in its provisions and is difficult of enforcement on that account. It is also interesting to note that in that state law is a provision that any city or municipality may pass laws with regard to sanitation, ventilation and lighting which are superior to the state law. It is interesting to note that our lawmakers should have incorporated a clause of that kind allowing the city of Chicago or any other city to make superior provisions as in this case. So we have the state law for the ventilation of workshops and factories giving way to the provisions in our own ordinance.

"I would invite your attention to the fact that we have in this ordinance the most complete municipal law with respect to ventilation in existence. Only one other city, the city of San Francisco, has a municipal ventilation law, and that is inferior in many respects as to scope and definiteness to our own law which is in the building ordinance passed December 5, 1910, and effective January 12, 1911.

"The first class of structures to which this law applies is a threefold class, which includes office buildings, club houses and hotels. Those are exempted from certain provisions as to windows in water closet apartments, but it provides that in lieu of such windows they may be ventilated by an approved mechanical ventilating system which shall effect at least six complete changes of air per hour. That has to be proved by somebody. We have no one who is sufficiently authoritative in his knowledge of the subject to give such approval. Consequently we give approval without very much knowledge of the efficiency of such appliances.

Ventilation Expert Needed

"It also provides that after the installation of such mechanical systems of ventilation they shall be tested for volumetric efficiency in the presence of a representative of the Commissioner of Health. We certainly have nobody in the department at the present time who

is competent to determine the volumetric efficiency of such a system or equipment.

"There is also a provision in Article 20 for the ventilation of auditoriums, classrooms, assembly halls hereafter erected and those already in existence. If there were no other functions for the ventilating engineer in the department, his time would be quite fully occupied in passing upon the plans for such appliances. The number of theaters for which permits have been requested during two months is thirty; of churches, five; of assembly halls, eight; practically fifty structures in two months, one every two days, involving the broad application of that law as to buildings hereafter to be erected. We certainly will not get proper ventilation unless we are able to determine in an authoritative manner the plans which are provided for new buildings. There are at least 700 churches and large assembly halls in the city of Chicago which need to be considered as to their compliance with that law. In order to handle that matter in an adequate manner, there is no doubt that we should be provided

with a ventilating engineer and with assistants to do that work.

"The other evening I met with a number of groups who were talking over these questions, and after physicians, ventilating engineers and architects had spoken, they asked me what I knew about ventilation, etc., and I said that I was not an architect or a ventilating engineer or a doctor, but that I found it necessary to combine in the operation of my office the functions of those men. I said that I felt that for the present at least it was a very difficult proposition to pass on these ventilating questions. I hope that you gentlemen will give us the benefit of your support in the future operations of the department." (Applause.)

Following the addresses, Prof. E. O. Jordan of the Committee on Public Health read the resolution adopted by that committee favoring the increase in the Health Department appropriation. That resolution is printed on the first page of this Bulletin.

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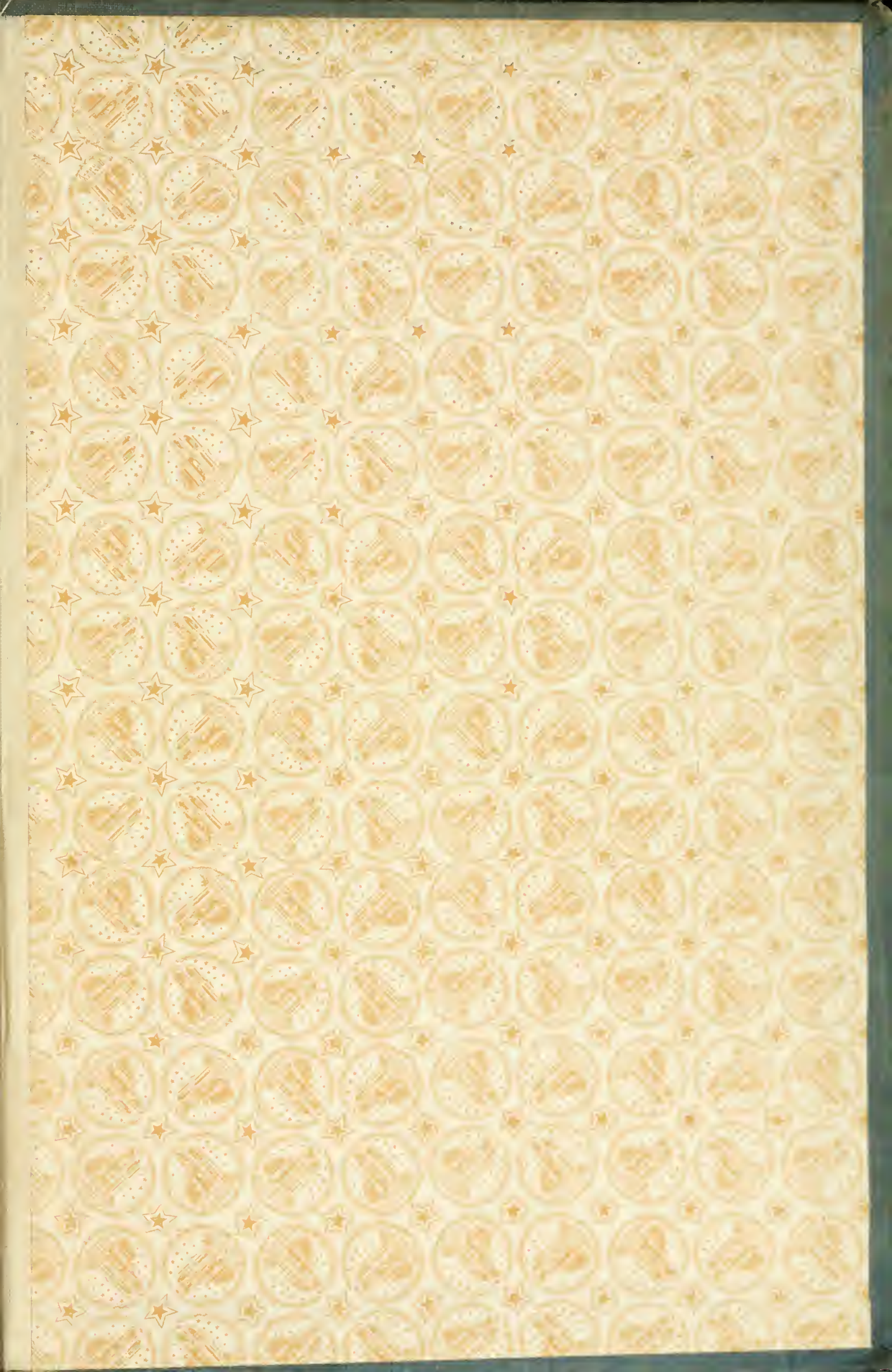
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